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"SHALL" AND "WILL,"

TWO CHAPTERS

OF THE

BY SIR EDWARD W. HEAD, BART.

LONDON:

JOHN MUSEL, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1858.

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OR,

TWO CHAPTERS

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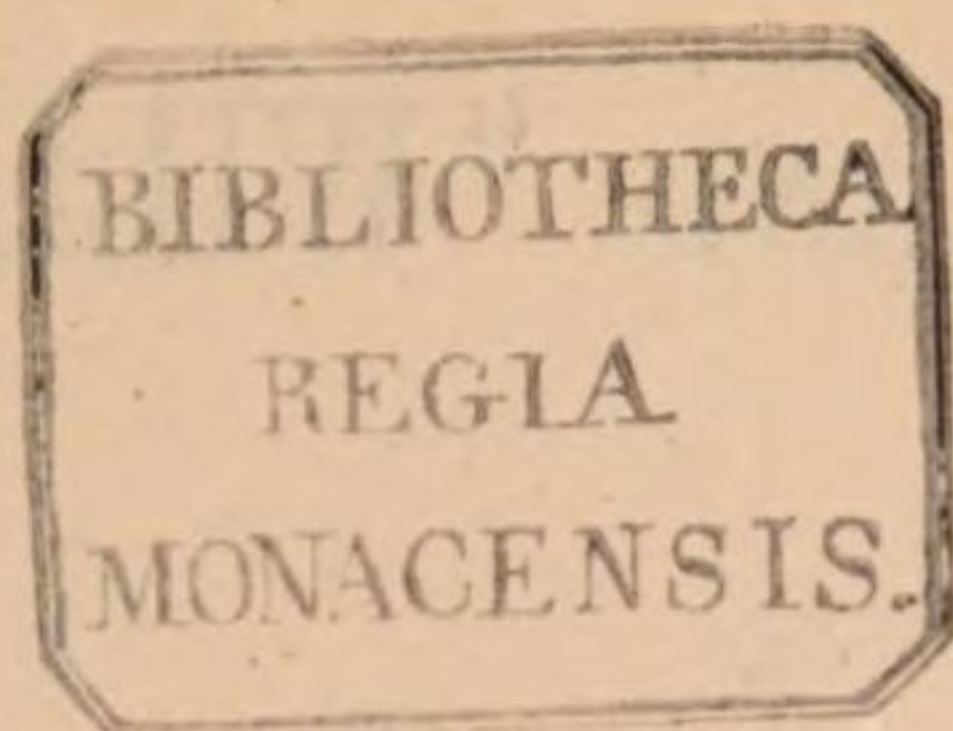
FUTURE AUXILIARY VERBS.

BY SIR EDMUND W. HEAD, BART.

LONDON:

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P R E F A C E.

SOME years ago I found myself discussing with an accomplished French lady the various intricacies of “*shall*” and “*will*.” The result of that conversation was, that I amused myself by putting together the remarks which I had met with, or which suggested themselves, on the subject of these puzzling auxiliaries. The two chapters now laid before the reader make no pretension to originality or profound research; they owe their origin to the discussion mentioned above, and they might have been better worth reading if I had, whilst writing them, had constant access to a large philological library. For the speculations in some of the notes I must ask indulgence.

E. W. H.

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“SHALL” AND “WILL.”

CHAPTER I.

“THEY may talk as they will of the dead languages. Our auxiliary verbs give us a power which the ancients, with all their varieties of mood and inflection of tense, never could attain.”¹ Such are Southey’s words, and I believe them to be true. The observations of a more distinguished philologist, William von Humboldt,² may be quoted in confirmation of these views. Speaking of the transition from a synthetic to an analytic structure in language, he says, “The practical convenience of expressing the sense supersedes the fanciful pleasure originally felt in combining elementary sounds with their full-toned syllables, each pregnant with meaning. The inflected forms are broken up into prepositions and auxiliaries. Men sacrifice other advantages to that of ready understanding, for without doubt this analytic system not only diminishes the labour of the intellect, but in par-

¹ The Doctor, p. 1. What may be called our “continuous present,” “I am reading,” affords a good instance of this greater precision.

² Verschiedenheit des Menschlichen Sprachbaues, s. 284.

" ticular cases it attains a degree of precision which
" is reached with greater difficulty by the synthetic
" structure."

Perhaps no better illustration of the truth of this last proposition could be found than the one which is afforded by the English use of "shall" and "will" for the expression of the future tense.

The reader will find that the languages of the Teutonic stock were all deficient in the means of expressing futurity, and I shall hereafter endeavour to trace in a superficial manner the various devices for supplying this defect to which they had recourse. It will be shown too that in the disruption of the Latin and the reconstruction of the Romance tongues a similar want was created, and remedied by an auxiliary verb. In the latter family of languages, however, the principle inherent in the parent tongue has for the most part prevailed, and has caused this auxiliary to become, in fact, an inflection of the verb. No such process of construction was carried on in the Teutonic dialects. So far as English is concerned, we remain with two auxiliaries applicable to the expression of the future; both were originally employed for the same purpose in other languages of the same stock, but their use has been worked out among us, until it has attained a degree of nicety remarkable in itself and most difficult of acquirement by foreigners. Indeed, the majority of those whose native language is English—the Scotch, the Irish, and our American brethren, whether in the colonies or the United States, rarely adhere with strictness to the English idiom.

It is not therefore surprising that the distinction between “shall” and “will” should have been treated as capricious or unintelligible; it is easier to do this than to explain it thoroughly, but the difficulty of accounting for all the phenomena of language does not make their existence less real. Buttmann has truly said of many such matters, “The idiom of language admits only of being observed; let no man ask ‘Why?’”³ We cannot explain why one form should be current in Ireland and Scotland and another in England, any more than why the Athenians did not speak the same Greek as the Thebans. So long, however, as the literature and cultivated speech of England are the test of pure and grammatical English, the distinction between “shall” and “will” cannot be overlooked. I shall hereafter refer to the reviewers and grammarians, who, it has been truly said, “try to cover their evasion of this difficulty by a little blustering.”⁴

It must be borne in mind that the question to be answered, with reference to the auxiliaries “shall” and “will,” is not “which verb may we possibly use in speaking of a future act?” but “which verb must we use when we intend to express futurity, and nothing more?” Now it is not always easy to isolate, as it were, this simple notion of futurity, and separate it from the shades of meaning, which, though not identical with it, may imply

³ “Man frage nicht warum—der Sprachgebrauch lässt sich nur beobachten.”—Lexilogus, b. i. s. 239.

⁴ Philological Museum, vol. ii. pp. 219, 220.

it or approximate to it. The auxiliaries now employed to express the future were originally selected for this purpose, because they conveyed the idea of a state of things or a condition such as probably implied futurity. It is not therefore singular that it should be sometimes difficult to strip off these shades of special signification, or to say which auxiliary may most properly be employed in a given case. A French future, such as "il viendra," may perhaps be best translated by "he will come," or by "he shall come;" the context alone, the dependence or independence of the sentence, or perhaps the tone of the speaker, must guide the translator in the selection of the proper auxiliary. In the abstract either may be right, but in an individual case they cannot therefore be used indifferently. It may often be that the English idiom will oblige the translation to be more definite than the original.

What is called "the future tense" of an English verb is commonly thus given:—

- Sing.* 1. I shall die.
- 2. Thou wilt die.
- 3. He will die.
- Plur.* 1. We shall die.
- 2. You will die.
- 3. They will die.

That is to say, an auxiliary is employed to express the future for the first person, different from the auxiliary used to express the future for the second and third persons. Both these auxiliaries are words which have been used for this purpose in other languages, but the peculiarity in modern English is

their systematic and regular appropriation to different persons. Professor de Morgan⁵ remarks, "In introducing the common mode of stating the future tenses, Grammar has proceeded as if she were more than a formal science. She has no more business to collect together 'I shall,' 'thou wilt,' 'he will,' than to do the same with 'I rule,' 'thou art ruled,' 'he is ruled.'" Such a future tense offers, no doubt, what Dr. Latham⁶ calls "a logical, not an etymological sequence;" but if it be the business of Grammar to inform us how a verb is conjugated, it is surely her business to tell us how the future tense is expressed in all its persons. If there be no simple form which expresses time, or other modifications of sense by mere inflection, it appears to be "the business" of grammar to tell us by what contrivance the want is supplied. The question cannot be passed over in silence because a different auxiliary supplies the place of an altered form in the first person and the second. Grammar is, no doubt, a formal science, but part of its subject matter is the adaptation of form to meaning; the question now before us is the employment of verbs etymologically distinct as if they were mere grammatical forms, and with this, it appears to me, grammar, as the reflex of practice, is necessarily concerned.

⁵ Transactions of Philolog. Society. It seems to me that on the same principle no French Grammar had "any business to collect together" the present of the verb substantive and its imperfect "étais," derived, as this latter is, from a different root.

⁶ English Language, p. 238.

Before proceeding to discuss the actual practice of the English language in the use of "shall" and "will," it is right, though scarcely necessary, to observe that the past tenses "should" and "would" may be assumed to follow a rule analogous to that which guides us in the employment of their presents. When the auxiliaries "should" and "would" are applied for the purpose of expressing a subjunctive mood, they are, in fact, only contingent or hypothetical futures. When a man says, "I should have caught the fever if I had visited that person," he announces something which *would have been* a future event, which might have been foretold as such, if a certain condition had been fulfilled. It is right in such a sentence to use "should," because in a corresponding categorical sentence "shall" and not "will" would be the proper future auxiliary for the first person: "I shall catch the fever if I visit that person." On the other hand, in such a sentence as "He would have gone to London if the weather had been fine," "would," and not "should," is employed, because the proper future auxiliary with the third person is "He will go to London," &c. "He shall go to London," or "He should have gone to London," would be understood to convey nothing except the fact that it was his duty to go. "Should," so employed, is no longer a mere auxiliary denoting the contingent nature of the proposition: it is the past tense of the verb "shall"—"to be obliged."

In ordinary English "will" is never used with the first person unless a notion of volition, more or

less strong, is conveyed by the speaker. On the other hand, "shall," when applied to any person other than the speaker, or supposed speaker, expresses something beyond mere futurity—that is to say, obligation, command, destiny, or external control of some kind. But in Ireland, Scotland, and North America, this appropriation of "shall" to the first person for expressing the simple future is not acknowledged in common parlance, nor always observed even in written composition. For instance, Chalmers wrote, "I am able to devote as much time " and attention to other subjects as I *will* be under " the necessity of doing next winter." ⁷ Now had this sentence run "as I will do next winter," the use of "*will*" would not necessarily have grated on an English ear, because the writer might possibly have meant "as I *intend* to do next winter;" but the context—the notion of necessity—makes every shade of volition inadmissible, and therefore "will" strikes us at once as incorrect because it must stand for the pure future.

The following passage from the same writer is still more illustrative of the rule: "Compel me to " retire and I shall be fallen indeed; I *would* feel " myself blighted in the eyes of all my acquaintance; " I would never more lift up my face in society; I " would bury myself in the oblivion of shame and " solitude; I would hide me from the world; I " *would* be overpowered by the feelings of my own " disgrace; the torments of self-reflection would " pursue me." ⁸ The two "woulds" in italics are

⁷ Life, vol. i. p. 73.

⁸ Life, vol. i. p. 85.

manifestly wrong, and strike us at once. Why is this? Because in these two cases the context excludes all notion of will or intention, and therefore we know they must be meant to express the simple future, which they ought not to do with the first person. "I *would* never more lift up my face" may possibly be right, inasmuch as it may mean "I should *choose* the alternative of hiding myself from the world." Both this and the two "*woulds*" which follow next cannot be objected to with confidence, because they are connected with acts which are voluntary at the moment, and the writer might, perhaps, be entitled to the benefit of the doubt. He has shown, however, by the other portions of the sentence that he was ignorant of the English idiom.

So Hugh Miller in his amusing book, 'My Schools and my Schoolmasters'—"A countryman, telling us what he had seen, remarked that if the conflagration went on as it was doing, we *would* have, as our next season's employment, the Old Town of Edinburgh to rebuild."—p. 333.

Here, again, are extracts from speeches in the Assemblies of two British colonies:—"Let the British Government continue the protection of last year and we *will* be all right."

"In a very short time we *will* probably find ourselves on a new footing, and feel the animating effects of the most important commercial movement of this country."

It is clear enough that the speakers in both sentences intended simply to express the future.

Thus, too, in a New York paper⁹ I have read, “None of our coal-mines are deep, but the time is coming when we *will* have to dig deeper in search of both coals and metallic ores.”

A distinguished American diplomatist, Mr. J. Y. Mason, in his letter to M. Drouyn de L’huys on the insults offered to Mr. Soulé, is reported to have expressed himself thus:¹⁰ “I feel assured that I *will* not have the misfortune to find conflicting views held by one so enlightened as your Excellency.”

Mr. Brace in his book on Hungary, repeating the words of some Hungarians with reference to Kossuth, makes them say, “He ought to have known we *would* be ruined.” Again he employs “*will*” with the first person as follows: “They say I *will* find such portraits in all the cottages of the peasants through the village.”¹¹ In these two last cases the future sentences are dependent, and placed in the mouths of others; but still the subject of the future verb being the first person, the auxiliary “*should*” or “*shall*” is required to express the English future; “*would*” can only mean “we wished to be ruined.”

Grimm¹² tells us that “*will*” is used on the Rhine instead of “*werde*” to express the future; singularly enough, only with the first person; that is

⁹ Scientific American. New York, Oct. 23, 1852.

¹⁰ November 6, 1854.

¹¹ Brace’s Hungary, pp. 125, 224. Mr. Brace is, I think, a native of Rhode Island, or Connecticut.

¹² Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache, b. ii. s. 908. Compare Deutsche Gramm., b. iv. s. 181. See below, p. 68.

to say, the idiom is exactly the reverse of the English one.

Mr. Guest¹³ says, "The use of 'shall' to denote future time may be traced to a remote antiquity in our language; that of 'will' is of much later origin, and prevailed chiefly in our northern dialects:—

"But be I ken'd heir, wallaway
"I will be slane."

Lyndsay, Parl. of Love, iii. 1.

"I will win for him if I can: if not, I *will* gain nothing but my shame and the odd hits."—*Hamlet*, v. 2.

The first of these instances exactly corresponds to the Scotch use of "will" at the present day, as exemplified above from Chalmers. I doubt very much whether the second is a perfectly clear example of the future use of "will;" that is to say, whether Shakspeare did not intend to convey something more in Hamlet's "will." Hamlet announces his readiness to undertake the match with Laertes in order to decide the King's wager. In reply to the lord who asks him to do this he says, "I will walk here in the hall; if it please his majesty, it is the breathing-time of day with me; let the foils be brought, the gentleman willing, and the king hold his purpose, I will win for him if I can: if not, I will gain nothing but my shame and the odd hits." I conceive Hamlet's speech to mean, "I am ready to do my best to win the King's wager,

¹³ Transactions of Philolog. Society, March 13, 1846.

"and I am ready to put up with defeat; I am content to take my chance, and I ask no reward." If this view be right, the second "will" means more than the simple future, and furnishes no example for our present purpose.

Nothing can be easier than to put cases in which the use of the two forms seems at first sight to be a matter of complete indifference. It is precisely because the shade which separates them is so slight that they are often confounded and misapplied. It seems practically much the same thing whether I say to a friend, "I shall be at home to-morrow when you call," or, "I will be at home to-morrow when you call." On a little reflection, however, the difference is clear. If the fact that my friend is going to call makes me determined to be at home—if my mind is made up in consequence of what has passed between us, and I announce an intention—then "will" is the proper auxiliary. If, on the other hand, I merely inform my friend that he will find me at a certain time—it may be because I cannot help it, or it may be because I choose it—then "shall" is the verb required for the simple statement of the future fact with the first person.

On this principle it is that the answer of an Irish servant when told to do a thing—"I shall, Sir"—is incorrect. "Shall," no doubt, is right as the future, but what he means to profess is his intention to obey, as consequent on the order. The best mode of testing this view is to take some act which cannot, from its nature, be voluntary. If a man say to me, "I will have the gout when you call,"

I, as an Englishman, could only understand him to mean, "I will pretend," or "I will try to have the gout." "I shall have the gout," might be properly said by one who felt premonitory symptoms of the disease. An Irishman or an American would not interpret these phrases in the same way, and it is precisely this which gives the point to the old story of the Irishman in the water, who exclaimed, "I will be drowned and nobody shall save me." Indeed this sentence illustrates perfectly the misapplication of either verb; "will" with the first person implies volition where volition is impossible, and "nobody shall," &c., forbids that which the context shows must be desired above all things.

It may be supposed that Burke has violated the rule in the following sentence of his 'Observations on a late State of the Nation,' when speaking of the improbable supposition that George Grenville would try to reimpose the Stamp Act: he says, "If he does, I will predict that some of the fastest friends of that minister will desert him on this point." I believe, however, though Burke was an Irishman, that this sentence is like the speech of Hamlet—an apparent exception only. "I will predict," really means, "I will take upon myself," or "choose to predict."

I have said that the Americans do not usually observe with great strictness the distinction between "shall" and "will" with the first person; yet I have heard it asserted that this inaccuracy belongs to the United States only south of New England;

and certainly in a very remarkable trial in Massachusetts—that of Abner Rogers for the murder of Charles Lincoln¹⁴—much importance was attached to the use, by the prisoner, of one auxiliary or the other. The counsel appeared clearly to appreciate the difference. A witness, Warren B. Parke, who was sent to search Rogers after the murder, gave his evidence thus:—“He (Rogers) said ‘I have fixed
“ ‘the warden, and *I’ll* have a rope round my neck
“ ‘to-night.’ On the strength of what he said I
“ took his suspenders (braces) from him.” Cross-examined—“His words were, ‘I will have a rope,’
“ not ‘I shall have a rope.’ I am sure the word
“ was *will*, and not *shall*.” Mr. Parker, Counsel for the Commonwealth, in commenting on the speech says, “It shows a contemplation of murder and suicide—a designed voluntary escape from the penalties of the law, and a consciousness of the malignity and criminality of his actions.” The defence set up was insanity, and on that ground the prisoner was acquitted. I confess I do not think that the inference either way, from the auxiliary used, was worth much, especially if in the United States so little exactness in the application of these verbs exists in popular usage: but this is immaterial; the argument shows that the distinction is admitted in theory,

¹⁴ Before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in 1844; reported by Bigelow and Bemis: Boston, 1844. Lincoln was warden of the State Penitentiary. The Report is particularly interesting with reference to the doctrine of Criminal Lunacy and its limits in jurisprudence. It is right to add that after the lapse of some time the prisoner turned out really insane.

and I do not impute the inaccuracy to the best American writers.

On the other hand it is, perhaps, worth while to quote some apparent instances of the converse error, that is, of the use of "shall" with the third person where we should expect to find "will." The following passage occurs in a note of George III., written after his first illness:¹⁵—

"His Majesty is perfectly satisfied with the zeal
"and attention of Dr. Gisborne, in whose absence
"he will consult Sir Francis Milman; but cannot
"bear the idea of consulting any of the Willis
"family, though he *shall* ever respect the character
"and conduct of Dr. Robert Willis." Here the first
"will" is perfectly regular, but the "shall" with
the third person, in the latter part of the sentence,
seems to violate the ordinary idiom. Its use, however,
admits of explanation, and probably means
that the King was *obliged*, notwithstanding his prejudices,
to entertain the feeling which he describes: he knew that
such a feeling was unreasonable. It might perhaps again
be supposed that, writing as the Sovereign constantly does,
formally in the third person, though virtually in the first,
he employed the form properly with the latter to convey
the simple future. This last supposition seems to me very
improbable; and I conceive that "shall" in this case
conveys something more than mere futurity.

Again, when Boswell¹⁶ was discussing the fate of

¹⁵ Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors. Life of Lord Eldon, vol. vii. p. 148.

¹⁶ Croker's edition (Murray, 1835), vol. vii. p. 258. The

Hackman, who murdered Miss Ray, and mentioned the criminal's prayer for the mercy of Heaven, Dr. Johnson is reported to have replied, "I hope he *shall* find mercy." If he had used "will," the sentence would have expressed a mere conjectural hope of an undecided future; but Johnson was speaking of something already concluded by the fiat of an Almighty Judge, though the nature of the decision was unknown to the speaker, and could not be controlled by him. The sentence is equivalent to, "I hope he is destined to find mercy."

On this principle, "shall" is the proper auxiliary for prophecy when predicting events predetermined and foreknown. It is not necessary that the speaker should profess to control the event himself; but he speaks of it as something due, and therefore naturally denoted by a word which originally means "to owe."^{16a} Buttmann¹⁷ remarks truly that the forms of expression which belong to a supreme power when ordaining, and the forms which announce, on divine authority, the existence of such ordinance, are often one and the same. In all such cases, "shall" is not to be taken as the mere sign of the future tense.

I do not know whether the vexed question of the authorship of the 'Vestiges of Creation' has ever been conclusively settled.¹⁸ There is a passage in

reader may attach what value he pleases to the fact that Boswell, who reports the conversation, was *more or less* Scotch.

^{16a} See below, p. 64.

¹⁷ Lexilogus, b. i. s. 127, in v. Τέκμαρ.

¹⁸ Since this passage was written, I have seen it confidently stated that the book was composed by Mr. Robert Chambers. (?) The words occur in the "Note Conclusory," p. 410.

that work which has always appeared to me to favour the notion that it was written by a native of Scotland or Ireland rather than by an Englishman.

The words are as follows:—

"I do not expect that any word of praise which
 "this work may elicit *shall* ever be responded to by
 "me, or that any word of censure *shall* ever be
 "parried or deprecated." Now, if the sentence had
 run thus:—"No word of praise, &c., shall ever be
 "responded to by me, and no word of censure shall
 "ever be parried," it would simply have expressed,
 in ordinary English, the author's determination to
 abstain from doing that which he might do if he
 pleased; but the neutral word "expect" requires
 the dependent verbs to carry with them the notion
 of simple futurity. The writer is not talking of
 what he has determined to do, but of what he anti-
 cipates will happen; and therefore "shall" strikes
 an English ear as a violation of the common idiom.

Another use of "shall," which is apparently anomalous, meets us in such sentences as the following one of Theodore Hook.¹⁹ Gilbert Gurney, after listening to the narrative of his friend Firkin's sorrows in consequence of having been Lord Mayor,

¹⁹ Gilbert Gurney, vol. iii. c. 2. I believe that in Scotland "will" is used in a manner analogous to the use of "shall" referred to in the text; that is to say, it is employed to express a result, where no future sense is obvious at first sight, but where the fact is matter of inference. "That will be my book," means, "If I am not mistaken, *that will turn out to be* my book." The speaker means all the time to assert that it is his book now, but the assertion is, I suppose, of a milder character, like that of the Greek optative with *ἔστω*.

exclaims, “ And I said to myself, ‘ This shall not be “ ‘ a bad man, let them say what they will. ’ ” This application of “ shall ” is not uncommon, and expresses what may be called a compulsory inference. “ In spite of all that can be said, this *must be the* “ *necessary conclusion.* ” It is, in short, the result due to the facts : the notion of debt is still present. There is considerable analogy between this idiom and the modern German use of “ soll ” for what is assumed to be true on report, which I shall notice hereafter.^{19 a}

Possibly the following example in Burke’s speech on conciliation with America may be explained on a similar principle :—“ When we allege that it is “ against reason to tax a people under so many re- “ straints in trade as the Americans, the Noble Lord “ in the blue riband *shall* tell you that the restraints “ in trade are futile and useless.” That is to say, “ The Noble Lord in the blue riband *is sure* to tell “ you this *as a matter of course* : it is the answer “ destined to be made by him to such an argu- “ ment.” Burke uses in this case the language of prophecy.

Horace Walpole, in one of his letters,²⁰ speaking of the massacre of the Guards of Louis XVI., says, “ The National Assembly dare not avenge them, as “ they should lose the favour of the intoxicated “ people.” Now it may be supposed that “ as they “ should ” represents “ because (or inasmuch as) “ they would ; ” but in reality it is an imitation of

^{19 a} See below, p. 66.

²⁰ Walpole’s Letters. Edition of 1846, vol. vi. p. 368.

the classical idiom, and resembles the "ut" in the following lines of Propertius :²¹—

"Sic mihi te referas levis, ut non altera nostro
"Limine formosos intulit ulla pedes,"

or the "as" in Dryden's translation of Horace's
'Sic te Diva potens Cypri : '—

"So may the auspicious Queen of Love,
"And the twin stars the seed of Jove,
"To thee, O sacred ship, be kind,
"As thou to whom the Muse commends
"The best of poets and of friends,
"Dost thy committed pledge restore."

The "as," however, of Walpole introduces what a lawyer might call a "condition subsequent" instead of a "condition precedent." "Should" expresses, not the reason for a certain act, but its sanction or inevitable consequence. The notion, therefore, of what is *due* or sure to follow is appropriate, and the verb itself is not a mere future auxiliary.

Having gone through a few cases of apparent anomalies in the use of these verbs, I pass on to one of the most striking points in connection with them, and that is their application in oblique and dependent sentences.

As a simple proposition we say, in the third person, "he will go;" but if the sentence be placed in the mouth of the person of whom the future act is predicated—if the subject of the future verb become the supposed speaker or thinker—then "shall" becomes the natural and proper auxiliary. "He

²¹ Lib. i. El. xviii. l. 11.

“ says that he shall go,” or “ He hopes that he shall go,” no longer conveys any notion of destiny, command, or obligation, such as is necessarily implied by “ You shall go,” or “ He shall go.”

On the other hand, with the first person, the fact that the future sentence is placed in the mouth of another does not involve a change in the auxiliary verb employed. “ I shall go,” and “ He thinks (or “ says) that I shall go,” are equally correct. “ Will ” would in either case be inadmissible in a pure future sense, as we shall immediately see by testing the principle with a verb which excludes the notion of volition. “ He thinks that I will die ” jars upon an English ear, though it would not perhaps produce the same effect in Scotland or America.

The reason of this retention of “ shall ” with the first person appears to be this:—The fact that the dependent sentence is in the first person implies of itself that the subject of the future verb and the person repeating the sentence, whether placed in his own mouth or not, are virtually one and the same. The practice with the second person, in oblique sentences, does not seem quite so clear. It seems to me one may often say, with almost equal propriety, “ You think you shall do it,” or “ You think you will do it ;” “ You said you should be in town on Saturday ;” “ You thought you would die.” At the same time I incline to believe that where the act is inconsistent with the exercise of will, “ shall ” is the more proper auxiliary in such dependent sentences placed in the mouth or thoughts of the person whom we are addressing. When we come to discuss

the reason of the application of "shall" and "will" to different sentences, it will be clear that the principle would justify either in such a case, though it may be maintained that as "will" is a sort of interloper, "shall" ought always to be employed, unless good cause be shown against it.

To illustrate this still further, in speaking of another, "I say that he will die" conveys simply my impression as to what is going to happen; but "I say that he shall die" would imply a determination on my own part, or at least a positive prophecy founded on foreknowledge of his death. If, however, the future sentence, though still in the third person, be placed in the mouth or attributed to the thoughts of the person whose death is predicted, the compulsory sense of "shall" immediately disappears, and it becomes a mere auxiliary. "He says that he shall die," or "He thinks he shall die," expresses the simple future, whilst "He says he will die" would properly convey an intention of killing himself. "Shall" in the first case, in the mouth of the person himself, conveys exactly the same future sense as would be given by "will" in the mouth of another speaking of him.

Having discussed the practice, let us consider how we are to express the general rule which regulates the choice of "shall" or "will."

It clearly does not depend entirely on the person of the future verb itself, as Lindley Murray's²²

²² Sixth edition, York, 1834, pp. 145, 147. It should be observed that Lindley Murray was by birth and education an American, having been born in Pennsylvania in 1745. He prac-

Grammar would lead us to suppose. He observes, "The following passage is not translated according to the distinct and proper meaning of the words 'shall' and 'will':—*Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.*" It ought to be 'will follow me,' and 'I shall dwell.'"

It is not easy to conceive a more unfortunate criticism, for in fact neither "shall" nor "will" in this sentence are used as simple auxiliaries to express the future. "Shall follow me" means "are destined to follow me by the divine ordinance," and "will dwell" expresses the intention or voluntary devotion of the speaker. The grammarian goes on to say, "In several familiar forms of expression, the word 'shall' still retains its original signification, and does not mean to promise, threaten, or engage, in the third person, but the mere futuration of an event; as, 'This is as extraordinary a thing as one shall ever hear of'" (p. 147). I have some doubts of the correctness of this last sentence; but at any rate I conceive that "shall" means "as one is destined to hear of,"²³ or it may be attributed to the indefinite character of the sentence, as will be explained hereafter.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that a stress, or what Dr. Latham calls "a logical accent," on

tised at the bar at New York till 1784, when he left America and settled in England. His death took place in 1826, at the age of 81. See Sabine's 'American Loyalists.'

²³ See above, p. 21.

"shall" or "will," often converts them from auxiliaries into verbs with a specific meaning of their own. When a man says to another "you *shall* go," he means, "I will make you go, whether you like it or not; it is a debt due by you." On the other hand, "you *will* go" means, "you have made up your mind to go, whatever may be the consequences." "Will," in this case, would be the proper future auxiliary, but the stress makes it in fact a different word, though the letters which compose it are the same.

I ought to notice another use of "will," in addressing a person, which represents a courteous form of the imperative.²⁴ In conveying official instructions to a subordinate officer—"you will see that proper precautions are taken," means, in fact, "I direct you to see," &c. This is, I conceive, simply the use of the future for the imperative; inasmuch as the superior assumes that the party addressed will do that which is his duty, and he foretells what that will be, instead of ordering him to do it.²⁵

How then must we state the rules which regulate the use of "shall" and "will" as future auxiliaries? We must in the first place confine ourselves to the consideration of categorical sentences; and speak afterwards of questions, or such propositions as may be contingent or hypothetical. It seems, then—

²⁴ Compare Prof. de Morgan, Trans. of the Philological Society, 1850, p. 186, note.

²⁵ See below, p. 35. For analogous Greek idioms, compare Matthiæ's Greek Gr., s. 498, β.

1st. Whenever the subject of the future verb is the pronoun of the first person, "shall" is the proper auxiliary.

2ndly. Whenever the subject of the future verb is not the first person, then "shall" is the proper auxiliary only when the future sentence is placed in the mouth, or attributed to the thoughts of a person, the same as the subject of the future verb, as—"he will go," but—"he thinks that he shall go."

3rd. "Will" is the proper auxiliary whenever the subject of the future verb is in the second or third person, and the proposition is not attributed to the thoughts or placed in the mouth of such subject himself.

If it be borne in mind that we are speaking of the expression of the simple future only, I believe that these rules will be found correct. Whenever they are departed from, "shall" or "will" ceases to be an auxiliary verb properly so called, and resumes a shade of its own specific meaning of obligation or volition, as the case may be. Thus I do not think that "shall" is ever employed in definite categorical sentences, whether dependent or independent, with the simple neuter pronoun "it" for a subject, unless the speaker command or predict that a thing *must* be. Why is this? Because the neuter pronoun cannot be identical with a speaker or thinker to whom the sentence is attributed. Yet it is not improper to say "Whatever it shall be," or "whenever it shall happen." Why is this again? Why, by making "it" indefinite, do we cause "shall" to resume its rights even with the third

person? The explanation of this point, however, is better deferred until we discuss the principle on which the general rule is founded.

In the mean time it is worth while observing that a curious illustration of our use of "shall" and "will" may be found in the manner in which in Latin "se" and "eum" are employed in oblique sentences. As a matter of course the analogy is to be traced in the third person only, and it amounts to no more than the following fact: what may be called an oblique first person is expressed in the grammatical form of the third, by employing in Latin a different pronoun, and in English a different future auxiliary. As a general rule, where we use "shall" to convey the future in an oblique sentence, the Romans would have used the pronoun "se;" and where we prefer "will," they would have taken the demonstrative "eum" before the infinitive. "*Credo eum peritulum esse*" would have to be translated, "I believe that he *will* die;" but "*credit se peritulum esse*" must be rendered, "he believes that he *shall* die." The pronoun in Latin points out the proper auxiliary in English; in the first case the nominative to "credo" is a different person from the subject to the oblique verb: in the second the two are identical. It may be said that the following sentence of Cæsar is inconsistent with what I have stated:²⁶ "*Pollicetur Lucius Piso sese iturum ad Cæsarem*" would naturally be translated into English, "L. Piso promises that he

²⁶ De Bello Civili, l. i. c. 3. See App. A.

“ will go to Cæsar.” The fact is, however, that the special sense of choice or readiness implied in “ pollicetur ” favours the use of “ will,” as conveying the intention of Piso. We may see this in a moment, by substituting some neutral word like “ credit,” or “ sperat,” before the oblique future: the English sentence would then probably run, “ L. Piso believes (or hopes) that he *shall* go to Cæsar.” Now if Piso had been speaking of another person, and the pronoun “ eum ” had been employed instead of “ sese,” then without doubt the English sentence would be “ Piso believes that he (eum, the other person) *will* go to Cæsar.” “ Shall ” would be wholly inadmissible.

It is desirable, before considering the case of hypothetical and interrogative propositions, to discuss the feeling or principle in which our use of “ shall ” and “ will ” originates.

Many of my readers may know that in 1828 there appeared in the ‘ Edinburgh Review ’ an article on ‘ Jamieson’s Scottish Dictionary,’²⁷ in which our English idiom of the future tense was discussed. Some quotations from this critical essay, and an extract from Archdeacon Hare in reply, will form the best introduction to this part of the subject, and will in fact supply all that is necessary. The writer in the ‘ Edinburgh ’ says:—

“ Dr. J.’s learned researches have enabled us to
“ throw some light on the great Shibboleth of mo-
“ dern English speech—the peculiar use of the aux-

²⁷ Vol. xlvii. pp. 492-495.

"iliaries *will* and *shall*; by their unskilfulness in
"which, more perhaps than by any other pecu-
"liarity, our countrymen are so often bewrayed.
"It is not, we trust, entirely out of resentment
"towards this unlearnable system of speaking, that
"we are induced to say that it is one of the most
"capricious and inconsistent of all imaginable irre-
"gularities, and at variance, not less with original
"etymology than with former usage, and substan-
"tially with itself. It is not perhaps generally
"known among the English, who value themselves
"on this strange anomaly, that it is comparatively
"of recent introduction, and has not been fully
"established for so much as two centuries."

He then observes that "the Gothic language pos-
"sesses a separate termination to express the future"
—a fact which I fear has escaped the later re-
searches of Grimm,²⁸ who tells us that language
has no such tense. The 'Edinburgh' critic pro-
ceeds to announce as a discovery—"From the pri-
"mitive meaning of the words *shall* and *will*, as
"they appear in the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon lan-
"guages, it is quite evident that they respectively
"signify necessity or moral obligation, and voli-
"tion." Hence he seems to infer that they cannot
have become auxiliaries, and he goes on to show
(what no one doubts) that their use was not pre-
cisely the same in Wycliffe's time, or in Latimer's,
as it now is. I deny, however (and I shall after-
wards return to this point), that "in the age of

²⁸ Deutsche Gramm., b. iv. ss. 139-146.

“ Wycliffe the future was *uniformly* expressed by
“ the auxiliary *shall*.” Nor will the reader be prepared to admit the correctness, either general or verbal, of the following conclusion of the argument, which is given with the spelling of the reviewer.

“ The truth is, that the English language is destitute of a mode of expressing simple futurity,
“ either by termination, or auxiliary verbs—such as
“ is expressed, in the former manner, by those
“ European languages which are more immediately
“ derived from the Latin—and, in the latter manner, by those of a purer Teutonic origin than ours.
“ Thus the Germans confine their auxiliary verb
“ *wollan*, to the expression of inclination, desire,
“ wish, &c.; and *sollan*, to the expression of sincerity, duty; and they use the auxiliary verb,
“ *wordan*, when simple futurity is to be expressed.”

On all this Archdeacon Hare remarks:²⁹—“ Our
“ future, or at least what answers to it, is, *I shall*,
“ *thou wilt*, *he will*. When speaking in the first
“ person, we speak submissively: when speaking of
“ another, we speak courteously.” J. Grimm,³⁰ in his ‘History of the German Language,’ adopts the same view of the principle of this idiom. A man has a right to apply to himself the verb which implies debt or compulsion, but in speaking of others it is courteous to abstain from assuming constraint. Archdeacon Hare goes on afterwards—³¹

²⁹ Philological Museum, vol. ii. p. 219.

³⁰ Geschichte der Deutschen Spr., b. ii. s. 908. “Es ist höflich
“ dass der Redende von sich ‘sollen,’ von anderen ‘wollen’
“ gebraucht.”

³¹ Philol. Mus. as above.

" It is rather characteristic that Cobbett, in his
" 'Grammar,' entirely passes over the distinction
" between *shall* and *will*, saying that their uses 'are
" 'as well known to us all as the uses of our teeth
" 'and our noses: and to misapply them argues not
" 'only a deficiency in the reasoning faculties, but
" 'almost a deficiency in instinctive discrimination.'
" For assuredly there never was a man more ab-
" horrent from every kind of *litotes*, which, to
" judge from the interpretations he gives of such
" Greek words as he is compelled to make use of, he
" would probably say meant *sheepishness*. Nor is
" Cobbett the only grammarian who tries to cover
" his evasion of this difficulty by having recourse
" to a little blustering. Mr. Gilchrist's 'gramma-
" 'tic members of society' do not seem to under-
" stand much about it: so, after telling us (p. 161)
" that '*shall* is, we believe, merely a diversity of
" '*will*,' and talking about the 'perplexity caused
" 'by it,' he exclaims that, 'if the *collective wisdom*
" 'of the grammatic world were deified with legis-
" 'lative omnipotence, English would in time be
" 'rendered as invincibly difficult as Greek.' This
" sentence was perhaps designed as a sample how
" invincibly easy English might become, were it not
" for the troublesome shackles of grammar, logic,
" and sense. A writer in the 'Edinburgh Review'
" (vol. xlvii. p. 492), who has collected a number
" of instances to show that the ancient usage did not
" coincide with the modern, and who, if he chose,
" might collect almost as many to prove that the
" Athenians, in the time of Demosthenes, did not

“ talk Homeric Greek, inveighs against ‘ this un-
“ ‘ learnable system of speaking,’ as ‘ one of the most
“ ‘ capricious and inconsistent of all imaginary irre-
“ ‘ gularities :’ assuring us, as a Bœotian might
“ have assured Menander, that we ‘ value ourselves
“ ‘ on a strange anomaly,’ which ‘ is comparatively
“ ‘ of recent introduction, and has not been fully
“ ‘ established for so much as two centuries.’ ”

The Archdeacon then proceeds to show that even Johnson and Wallis are far from satisfactory, and that the true explanation of the idiom seems to be indicated by the fact, that in interrogative and dependent sentences, “ when the use of ‘ shall ’ does
“ not convey any appearance of infringing on
“ another’s free will, it is still employed in the old
“ way to express futurity.”

Professor de Morgan,³² however, disputes the correctness of this view. He says, “ Archdeacon Hare’s
“ *usus ethicus* is taken from the brighter side of
“ human nature : it explains *I shall, thou wilt*, but
“ I cannot think it explains *I will, thou shalt*.
“ The present explanation is taken from the darker
“ side, and it is to be feared that the *à priori* pro-
“ babilities are in its favour. It seems to be the
“ natural disposition of man to think of his own
“ volition in two of the following categories, and of
“ another man’s in the other two :

³² Transactions of Philolog. Society, 1850, p. 186. I do not think Dr. Latham happy in calling “ shall ” *promissive* with the 2nd and 3rd persons. This epithet seems rather to belong to “ will,” when used with the 1st person, to profess intention. I presume, however, he means that which expresses the simple future.

" Compelling, non-compelling; restrained, non-restrained.

" The *ego*, with reference to the *non-ego*, is apt, thinking of himself, to propound the alternative, ' *Shall I compel, or shall I leave him to do as he likes?* ' so that, thinking of the other, the alternative is, ' shall he be restrained, or shall he be left to his own will? ' Accordingly, the express introduction of his own will is likely to have reference to compulsion, in case of opposition: the express introduction of the will of another is likely to mean no more than the gracious permission of the *ego* to let *non-ego* do as he likes. Correlatively, the suppression of reference to his own will, and the adoption of a simply predictive form on the part of the *ego*, is likely to be the mode with which, when the person is changed, he will associate the idea of another having his own way; while the suppression of reference to the will of the *non-ego* is likely to infer restraint produced by the predominant will of the *ego*.

" Occasionally, the will of the *non-ego* is referred to as under restraint in modern times. To *I will not*, the answer is sometimes *you shall*, meaning, in spite of the will—sometimes *you will*, meaning that the will will be changed by fear or sense of the inutility of resistance.

" Of the strength of the objection to be derived from the departures from the rule made by the Scots and Irish, the author does not feel able to judge.

" It often happens that *you will*, with a persua-

“sive tone, is used courteously for something next to, if not quite, *you shall*.”

I have already adverted³³ to the question how far grammar is concerned with the employment of “shall” or “will,” and to the imperative use of the future; nor am I sure that I fully comprehend the general theory on which Professor de Morgan rests his objections to Archdeacon Hare’s remarks. So far as I understand it, I differ from the former and agree with the latter.

In the first place, I do not attach much value to the consideration that a certain idiom in language is based on “the brighter side of human nature.” Conventional forms of speech are current enough in all tongues, and courteous phrases are consistent with uncourteous acts. The red Indian wore the scalping-knife, and called every man “brother;” and where human nature fails is not in words. Surely, if kind speech does not prove kind feeling, we are hardly safe in assuming that, because men are naturally depraved, therefore we cannot assign a courteous and kindly origin to a conventional expression. At any rate the darkest view of human nature may be reconciled with Archdeacon Hare’s theory by calling the feeling to which the use of “shall” and “will” is due, “hypocrisy,” instead of “courtesy.”

But, whilst I place little reliance on inferences of this kind, either one way or the other, I cannot but think that the direct evidence is strongly adverse to Professor de Morgan.

³³ See above, pp. 9, 26.

"Shall," as we shall hereafter see, means originally "to owe:" how, then, is it likely that its use with the first person was founded on an implied assertion of superior power in the speaker, and thus based "on the darker side of human nature"? "To owe" is no doubt closely connected with the notion of compulsion, but then it is with the passive side of compulsion; it applies to the party compelled, not the party compelling. Had "shall" originally signified the right or act of enforcing the payment of a debt—not the duty consequent on such a right—it might be plausible to suppose that its use with the first person was intended to imply command or superiority on the part of the speaker. Surely, however, to allude to the notion of owing by means of a word which is properly applicable only to the debtor can hardly bear such a construction.

Again, why should the express mention of the *will* of another with the second and third persons be taken to imply an assumption of control over that will? Such a theory may indeed be well said to suit the darker view of human nature, since it implies perpetual irony.

Moreover, Professor de Morgan's explanation does not to me clear up the peculiar phenomena of the variable application of "shall" and "will," as shown in dependent sentences, or the return to "shall" in interrogative and hypothetical forms. The Professor says that Archdeacon Hare's view explains "I shall," "thou wilt," but does not explain "I will" "thou shalt." The answer, as the reader will have seen, is, that in the two latter cases the verbs are not

mere auxiliaries, meant to convey the simple future; they express, according to their original sense, volition and duty.

If we now turn to sentences which assert hypothetically or contingently and to interrogations, our argument will be much strengthened. It will appear, I think, that "shall" was the original future auxiliary, and has still the presumption in its favour; since it is supplanted by "will" only in special cases, and originally from a sense of courtesy or submission in speaking of others. It is most remarkable that whilst "shall" and "should," applied to the second or third person in categorical propositions, such as "you should go," or "he shall feel it," can express in English nothing but compulsion, duty, or destiny, yet a single drop of hypothesis, such as may be infused by an indefinite adverb or relative, will neutralize the stringent imperative sense, and restore "shall" or "should" to the condition of mere future auxiliaries. "If you should go," or "whenever he shall feel it," are the natural forms of our contingent future.

Burke says, "All nations will fly from so dangerous a connection, lest, instead of being partakers of our strength, they *should* only become sharers of our ruin."³⁴ *Should* is the proper auxiliary here, but a causal conjunction, such as "because," requires "would"—"because they would become sharers of our ruin"—unless, indeed, we changed the form by inserting some verb which attributed

³⁴ Observations on a late State of the Nation.

the thought to the subject of the future, as "because they fear they should be partakers in our ruin." It is the conjunction "lest" (ne) in the original sentence which gives a contingent sense to the apodosis, and justifies the retention of "shall."

In the following well-known sentence of Burke's³⁵ the use of "will" as a mere future auxiliary is perhaps questionable. Speaking of convocation he says, "It is, however, a part of the constitution, and may be called into act and energy whenever there is occasion, and whenever those who conjure up that spirit *will* choose to abide the consequences." Now, I think, after whenever, "shall" was the natural auxiliary; but it is probable that the writer's feeling was that of strengthening the notion of volition expressed by "choose:" "will" is, in fact, a sort of surplusage,^{35a} and it is clear that the future sense was not prominent in the author's mind by the use of "is" instead of "shall be" in the first member of the sentence, "whenever there is occasion."

On the other hand, the following passage of the same author shows how the mere fact that the precise subject of the verb and the time of action are left indefinite, justifies the retention of "shall." "How heavy their punishment will be who *shall* at any time dare to resist," &c.

Every one will feel that if Burke had been speaking of a definite case of resistance he would

³⁵ 'Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol.' In referring to Burke, I do not venture to recollect that he was Irish. The reader must attribute what he pleases to this fact; something may be due to it.

^{35a} This is the explanation of "I will predict," p. 16.

have used "will;" *e. g.* "there are the men who "will dare to resist," &c. So the exhortation in the Communion Service speaks of "all such as shall be religiously and devoutly disposed;" nor is this because "will" was not currently employed at the time. In the next exhortation we have "These "things if ye earnestly consider, *ye will* by God's "grace return to a better mind, for the obtaining "of which *we shall* not cease," &c.³⁶ It is especially remarkable as illustrating the change in our idiom, that in the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. (1552), and in the book of 1559, this last sentence runs, "*ye shall* by God's grace return," &c.

The ordinary construction with "when" implies the same principle. I think it will be found that if "when" represents the simple relative "at which "time," then "will" is the proper auxiliary. "I "will be there at six o'clock, when it will be "light." A definite time is named, and the latter part of the sentence is a simple assertion of the future. On the other hand we should say, "I will "be there when it *shall* be deemed requisite," because "when" stands for "whenever," or "at "such time as," no definite time having been previously fixed.

In interrogative sentences, again, the practice seems to be such as goes to confirm the views already expressed. In these, as in categorical pro-

³⁶ I believe that the first of these exhortations appears in its present form only in the Liturgy of 1662. The second is substantially to be found in the second book of Edward VI. and in that of Elizabeth (1559).

positions, the first person always requires "shall;" no cause can be shown in such cases for depriving the original future auxiliary of its rights. But with this exception the interrogative appears to employ the auxiliary, which, according to the rules already laid down, may be presumed to be adapted to the answer. Nor is this extraordinary: an interrogative pronoun or adverb of time and place has been well described as "a relative which is looking for an antecedent." Hence in most languages the forms of the two are all but identical. As a relative preserves the number and person of the antecedent, so the interrogative pronoun anticipates the person and the auxiliary which will probably belong to the respondent. In the first person, however, "shall" retains its place, although the answer must be made by "will." For instance, if I ask "How shall I like such a poem?" the answer made by another person who has read it must clearly express the simple future, and would be "You will (or will not) like it very much." If a man asks his medical attendant "Shall I have a return of my ague to-day?" the answer would be "You will" or "will not:" unless, indeed, the physician assumed the responsibility of commanding the disease, not of predicting the result. If, however, the patient inquired "Shall I have my pills by six o'clock?" the reply might properly be "You shall," simply because the sending depends on the action of the answerer, and the sentence conveys more than the pure future. In all these cases the question is put by means of "shall," whether the answer is to be

made by one auxiliary or the other, because the verb in such question is in the first person. Accordingly, in the Scotch ballad of Sir Patrick Spens, the king asks—

“ O where *will* I get me a skeilly skipper
“ To sail this ship of mine ? ”

—the Scotch idiom permitting the use of *will* with the first person in the answer.

On the other hand, the distinction is observed in Percy's version of the Battle of Otterburne, which the editor attributes to an early date :—

“ Where *schall* I byde the ? said the Dowglas,
“ Or where *wylte* thou come to me ? ”

So again—

“ Ther *schall* I byde the, sayd the Dowglas,
“ By the fayth of my bodye ;
“ Thether *schall* I come, said Syr Harry Percy,
“ My troth I plyght to the.”

Now, it seems to me that in the second person a question which relates to one to whom it is addressed may, in like manner, be expressed by “ shall,” because such person, in answering, will employ the first person, and, consequently, use this auxiliary. There is nothing uncourteous in “ Shall you go to London to-morrow ? ” the answer would probably be, “ I shall,” or “ I shall not.” “ Will you go to London to-morrow ? ” though admissible, seems to suppose that your mind is not yet made up. As has been already observed, the difference between these two forms may be readily tested by prefixing either of them to a verb which admits

futurity but excludes volition. "When shall you have the gout?" cannot well be answered by "I will," &c., and, consequently, the interrogation cannot properly be put in the form "When will you have the gout?" as if it were a matter of choice. Cases, however, of a doubtful character might perhaps be easily suggested with regard to the second person.

But in questions affecting the third person, that is to say, a person different from the speaker or from him who is addressed, the matter is clearer; in these the question must be put by means of the auxiliary "will," inasmuch as it cannot, consistently with the rules which we are now discussing, be answered by "shall," unless it is intended to convey something more than the pure future. "When will he come?" or "When will they come?" must be replied to by means of "will," unless compulsion or destiny be signified. "He shall come" would imply a power in the speaker, or something equivalent to it.

It appears to me that all these instances of the use of "shall" and "will" in contingent sentences and in questions confirms very strongly the explanation of the principle given by Archdeacon Hare, and are consistent with no other theory.

"Shall" was the original auxiliary appropriated to the future in English, as it is in the Dutch and Low German dialects; it is never superseded by "will" where any loophole exists for avoiding an implied want of courtesy in its use. If, in a question, the person addressed has to answer by

“shall,” or if the sentence is hypothetical or indefinite, then “shall” retains its right even with the second and third persons. In all other cases it is not considered safe to employ the compulsory auxiliary when speaking of another.

Such I believe to be the present usage of “shall” in the English language, and the theory on which it is founded.

It remains to say something of the manner in which this rule has grown up until it has assumed its present form. It is scarcely necessary to return to the singular argument of the Edinburgh Reviewer of 1828,³⁷ who would infer that, because it must have so grown up, it does not now exist.

Agreeing in the main, as I do, with Archdeacon Hare,³⁸ I still think he has used expressions which imply that the origin of this idiom was more recent than the facts warrant. He says, “In our older writers, for instance in our translation of the Bible, *shall* is applied to all three persons; we had not then reached that stage of politeness which shrinks from the appearance even of speaking compulsorily of another.”

I am far from asserting that “shall” is not used in the authorised version of the Bible with the second and third persons where we should now employ “will” for the expression of the pure future; many of the passages, however, which at first sight appear to show this usage, admit of explanation, by a reference to the principle of ordinance or decree by a

³⁷ See above, p. 31.

³⁸ Philological Museum, as above, vol. ii. p. 219.

Supreme Being or the prediction of the destined course of Providence. One thing is, I think, clear: the application of "will," according to the ordinary modern idiom, was thoroughly understood, though it might be more sparingly employed. One instance is sufficient to prove that the usage was known: "For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it *will* sprout again, and that the tender branch thereof *will* not cease."—Job xiv. 7. In ch. ix. ver. 27 of the same book "will" is used with the first person as we might now use it, to express a purpose: "If I say I will forget my complaint, I will leave off my heaviness and comfort myself."

But we shall see still more clearly how far "will" had established itself in the language before the authorised version of the Scriptures was made, if we compare a few passages as translated by Wycliffe, and as they appear in our Bible and Liturgy. The words of Psalm lviii. 16 are in the Vulgate "*convertentur ad vesperam et famem patientur ut canes et circuibunt civitatem.*" Wycliffe translates this by "shul" or "schal." The structure of this verse in the Bible version is wholly different, but in our Prayer Book it stands, "They *will* return, grin like a dog, and go about the city." The "shall" of Wycliffe may be attributed to the prophetic character of this passage, but such an explanation will hardly apply to Mark xii. 6: "*Quia revere buntur filium meum,*" ἐντραπήσουται τὸν υἱόν μου. The authorised version is, "They will reverence my son." In the Oxford text of Wycliffe the passage runs, "Peradventure they *schulen* drede

“ my sone.” Bagster’s edition of Wycliffe’s version and the various readings of the Oxford reprint give “ wolen ” and “ wolden,” as if the propriety of substituting “ will ” for “ shall ” in such a case were beginning to be felt.

The contrast between the earlier and later use of the auxiliaries is well seen in the 9th verse of the same chapter, though the passage admits of the sense of authoritative denunciation on the part of Christ, or volition on that of the master of the vineyard. In Wycliffe’s version the question “ What schal the “ Lord of the vineyard doe?” is answered by “ schal.” In the authorised version the question is asked by “ shall,” but answered by “ will,” and it is the same in the Rheims, Geneva, and Tyndale’s translations. Cranmer renders both question and answer by “ shall.” In the passage of St. Paul, “ All things are lawful for me, but I *will* not be “ brought under the power of any ” (1 Cor. vi. 12), the Greek future, ἐξουσιασθήσομαι, is expressed in the English Testament by “ will,” as conveying the purpose or intention of the Apostle. The Vulgate is, “ sub nullius redigar potestate.” Our version therefore in this, as in other cases, is more definite than the original. Wycliffe translates the simple future of the Vulgate by the proper auxiliary, “ schal,” but Tyndale, Cranmer, the Rheims, and the Geneva versions all agree with our own. In the same manner the declaration of Christ in Mark xiv. 25, “ I will drink no more of this fruit of the “ vine ” (jam non bibam), implies intention in our translation, whilst Wycliffe adheres to the future

"schall."³⁹ These examples are not given as being all instances of the simple future, but they go to show the manner in which Wycliffe employed "schall" where later translators have preferred "will."

But I think it may be satisfactorily shown that Wycliffe's contemporary, Chaucer, constantly employed "shall" and "will" according to the modern idiom. I do not assert that no exceptions occur, or that Chaucer's usage was the same as ours: my object is only to establish the affirmative proposition—the present English idiom of these auxiliary verbs was familiar to the father of English poetry; consequently, we must assume that the principle on which such usage rests had been already felt and acted on.

"Wil" or "wol" is constantly employed, as it is with us, to express intention of the speaker. Thus, in the prologue to the 'Canterbury Tales,'⁴⁰—

"And at a knight than wol I firste beginne."—L. 42.

"I wol myselfen gladly with you ride."—L. 805.

In the 'Knight's Tale' (l. 1589) we have —

"I wol be ded or elles thou shalt die."

where "wol" marks the determined will of the speaker, and "shalt" the certainty of the alternative.

³⁹ Compare verses 27, 31, 58 of the same chapter in both versions.

⁴⁰ Compare lines 811, 891, 1336, 1338, 1355, 1397, 1452, 1490, 1591, 2253, 2255, 3129, 3143, 4131, 4248 for similar instances. The references here and elsewhere are made to Tyrrwhitt's *Cant. Tales*, Pickering, 1830.

On the other hand, Chaucer uses “shall” for the future of the first person, just as we should now do in modern English:—

“To love my lady, whom I love and serve,

“And ever shal, till that mine herte sterve.”—*Knight's Tale*, l. 1145.

“And eke it is not likely all thy life

“To stonden in hire grace, no more shal I.”—*Ibid.* l. 1173.

“In swiche a gise as I you tellen shall.”—*Ibid.* l. 1210.

“I shal do diligence.”—*Ibid.* l. 2472.⁴¹

Again, the following lines appear to exhibit “wol” with the second and third persons, in conformity with our present idiom:⁴²—

“Than wol I clepe, how Alison! how John!

“Be mery: for the flood wol passe anon,

“And thou wolt sain, Haile Maister Nicholay.”—*Miller's Tale*, l. 3577.

Palamon, describing the effects of Emilie's charms, says,—

“But I was hurt right now throughout min eye

“Into min herte, that wol my bane be.”—*Knight's Tale*, l. 1099.

Again,—

“Palamon,

“That serveth you and wol don all his life.”—l. 2797.

So in the ‘Reve's Tale,’—

“Our manciple, I hope he wol be ded.”—L. 4027.

“Our corn is stolen, men wol us fonnes call.”—L. 4027.

⁴¹ Compare lines 765, 1061, 1185, 1398, 1846, 1866, 2325, 3170, 3511, 3533, 3561, 3675, 3680, 3744, 3780, 4083, 5000, 4206.

⁴² Compare lines 1158, 1546, 2323, 3527, 3718.

"Shall" with the second or third person seems, as with us, usually to convey a notion of some control of the speaker over the result, or a conviction that it is certain to ensue,—

"This Arcite full proudly spake again,—

"Thou shalt, quod he, be rather false——"—*Knight's Tale*, l. 1154.

"And he began with right a mery chere

"His tale anon, and said as ye shul here."—*Prologue*, l. 859.

"Ne never more he shal his lady see."—*Knight's Tale*, l. 1348.

"So strong it" (destiny) "is, that though the world had
sworne

"The contrary of a thing by ya or nay,

"Yet sometime it shall fallen on a day."—*Ibid.* l. 1670.⁴³

The line,

"Though Mars shal help his knight, yet natheles——"

belongs to the class of hypothetical or contingent sentences, in which, as I have already observed, we still use "shall."

⁴³ Compare lines 1147, 3779, 4119. It has been suggested to me by a friend that the following passage in Gower's *Florent* is worth quoting—

"Florent, if I for thee so shape

"That thou through me thy death escape,

"And take worship of thy deed,

"What shall I have to my meed?

"What thing, quod he, that thou wylte, axe."

Ellis's *Specimens*, vol. i. p. 187.

It appears to me, however, that the "wylte" here is no auxiliary—"axe" is the imperative—"ask what thing thou wilt." I have accordingly inserted a comma in the text before "axe."

The following passage from 'The Man of Lawe's Tale' affords numerous instances of "shall" with different persons:—

"And she hath this emprise ytaken in hond,
"Which ye shull heren that I shal devise,
"And to hem all she spake right in this wise."

"We shul first feine us Cristendom to take,
"Cold water *shal* not greve us but a lite;
"And I shal swiche a feste and revel make,
"That, as I trow, I shal the soudan quite."—L. 4678.

The only "shall" in these lines which may appear contrary to modern usage is that in italics in the fifth. The plural "shall" in the fourth expresses the course decided on, and is joined, moreover, with the first person: "will" would convey the notion of making up one's mind at the time, and imply intention rather than authoritative determination. Even the "shall" in the fifth may mean "is not destined to hurt us—is sure not to hurt us," and thus express more than the simple future.^{43 a}

Now all these passages from Chaucer, to which many others might be added, make it, I think, clear that our modern usage of "shall" and "will" is not quite of such recent origin as the Edinburgh Reviewer, or even Archdeacon Hare, would lead us to suppose. Wycliffe no doubt usually employed "shall" in translating the future, but his contemporary was evidently conversant with the modern idiom. Exceptions, as I have said, can be found, but such instances, however numerous, cannot destroy the affirmative inference which we are author-

^{43 a} See above, p. 21.

ised to draw from the examples quoted. The distinction between "shall" and "will" was understood and recognised in English long before the authorised version of the Bible was made. This inference will be strengthened if we turn to letters of the time of Henry IV. and Henry V., published by Sir Henry Ellis.

Jankyn Harrard, constable of Dynevor, writing with reference to Owen Glendower's rebellion, says, "For thai han ymad har avow that thei well al
" gat have owss dede th'rn. Wher for I prei zow
" that ze nul not bugil ous, that ze send to ous
" warning whether schull we have eny help or
" no." ⁴⁴ That is to say, "For they have made their
" vow that they will anywise have us dead therein.
" Wherefore I pray you that you will not trouble
" (boggle, or beguile?) us; that you will send us
" warning within short time whether we shall have
" any help or not."

It is possible that the "will" may, in one or two of these instances, imply volition or determination; "shall" is employed with the first person, and there is nothing in the passage conflicting with modern usage. In the following example "will" occurs with the neuter pronoun of the third person, "and
" zif it be taret til sumyr hit wil not be so
" lightly." ⁴⁵ So again, "yours shippe wolles not
" be redy." ⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Ellis's Letters, second series, vol. i. letter iv. p. 15.

⁴⁵ Letter of Reginald de Bayldon. Ellis's Letters, first series, vol. i. p. 36.

⁴⁶ *Ib.* vol. i. p. 69.

In John Skydmore's letter⁴⁷ to Fairford, the Receiver at Brecknock, he says, "Wherfore wryteth
" to Sir Hugh Waterton, and to all thilke that ye
" suppose wol take this mater to hert."

The Bishop of Durham addressing Henry V. tells the King—"Als sone as I may more do ye shall
" have wityng therof;"⁴⁸ just as we should now say, "as soon as I am able to do more you shall
" know it;" the act of giving the knowledge being in the power of the speaker, and therefore not within the principle which obliges us to use "will" with the second person.

It may be worth while to trace the usage of these auxiliaries a little further down in the history of the language.

The following passages are from Lord Berners' 'Froissart.'⁴⁹—"Now I shall shewe you what auns-
" were the King had of his counsayle."—"I shall
" do accordyng to your advise."—"And he thought
" in hymselfe he wold agree therto."—"Than the
" Bysshop of Burgos, Chauncellor of Spayne, who
" was well langaged, sayd, 'Sirs, ye knyghtes of
" ' Englād perteyning to the Duke of Lācaster, and
" ' sent hyder fro his constable, understande that
" ' the Kyng here of his pytie and gentylnesse *wyll*
" ' shewe to his enemyes all the grace he maye;
" ' and, Sirs, ye *shall* retourne to your constable,
" ' and shew him fro the Kyng of Castyle that he
" ' *shall* make it to be knowen through al his hoost
" ' by the sowne of a trumpet, that his realme *shal*

⁴⁷ Ib. letter vii. p. 20.

⁴⁸ Ib. letter xvii. p. 52.

⁴⁹ Edition of 1812, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 304, 305.

“ ‘ be open and redy to reicyve all the Englysshmen
 “ ‘ hole or sicke.’—These knightes thanked the
 “ Kynge and his counsayle of their aunswere, and
 “ said, ‘ Sir, there be certayne artycles in your
 “ ‘ aunswere, we can nat tell if they *will* be ac-
 “ ‘ cepted or nat; if they be nat we *shall* send
 “ ‘ agayne to you our heraulte: if he come nat we
 “ ‘ *shall* accept your saying.’ ”

Now here the first “ wyll ” may be explained by supposing it to express the intention of the king; but the last is clearly the simple future employed in the passive with the third person. “ Shall ” in several cases implies power or control; in the others it is used with the first person as it is now.

Latimer⁵⁰ in his sermons constantly uses, “ But
 “ ye will say ;” anticipating, as it were, an objection on the part of his hearers. One such sentence as the following is sufficient to show that he was familiar with the use of “ will ” as the simple future auxiliary in the third person. “ Then do you deck
 “ the very true temple of God, and honour him in
 “ rich vestures that *will* never be worn, and so forth
 “ use yourselves according unto the commandments;
 “ and then finally set up your candles, and they *will*
 “ report what a glorious light remaineth in your
 “ hearts.”⁵¹

Again, in the same sermon—“ Offer your obla-
 “ tions and prayers to our Lord Jesus Christ, who
 “ *will* both hear and accept them.”

⁵⁰ See Latimer's Third, Fourth, and Sixth Sermons before Edward VI., and compare the ‘ Second Sermon on the Card.’

⁵¹ Second Sermon on the Card (*ad fin.*).

On the other hand “shall” is employed to signify destiny, or the decree of God; as, “I say such men “*shall* go to hell for so doing.”⁵²

I think that I may close this chapter by asserting confidently that the use of “shall” and “will” according to the modern idiom has been familiar to English authors from the time of Chaucer downwards. On the other hand, I do not assert that the nice distinction between these forms was uniformly or accurately observed by all our writers during these centuries. I do not assert that the practice now established by the example of our best authors and the usage of cultivated conversation can be considered as settled until modern times. The difference, however, was recognised, and the idiom grew and strengthened until it has become part and parcel of the English language, capable of being embodied in a rule of grammar, and founded on a clear and definite principle.

⁵² First Sermon on the Card.

CHAPTER II.

ANY discussion of the English auxiliaries "shall" and "will" is incomplete without some notice of the corresponding idioms in other languages; more especially in those of the same family as our own. The original signification too of our own future auxiliaries must necessarily be traced out, and even a cursory glance that way suggests many questions of deep interest which, unfortunately, would demand for their satisfactory solution philological attainments of a very high order. In this chapter I attempt no more than what may serve to point in the right direction, and I claim no merit whatever on the score of originality.

Whether it be that our thoughts are not easily directed to the future⁵³ because the present is too absorbing, or that there is "an awful, irrepressible, " and almost instinctive consciousness of the uncertainty of the future which makes men avoid the "appearance of speaking presumptuously of it"—the fact is certain—the want of a future tense as an organic part of the conjugation of verbs is a common defect in many modern languages.

In all those of the Teutonic stock this defect appears inherent. Dr. Prichard⁵⁴ says, "It has

⁵³ Archdeacon Hare. *Philolog. Museum*, vol. ii. p. 218.

⁵⁴ *Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*, ch. vii. p. 107. Compare p. 175.

“ been observed that the Teutonic verbs have one
“ form for the future and the present tense. The
“ same remark applies to the Welsh ; for the Welsh
“ language, except in the instance of the verb sub-
“ stantive,⁵⁵ which has two distinct forms, one for
“ the present and the other for the future tense, has
“ only one modification of the verb, which is used
“ to represent both. In the German dialects the
“ single form above referred to is properly a present
“ tense, but the Welsh grammarians consider that
“ their language has only a future, and say that the
“ future is put for the present.”

Grimm states the case as follows:—“ Our lan-
“ guage in all its branches has the power of express-
“ ing only two tenses of the verb—the present and
“ the past. In this it differs remarkably from all
“ the languages originally allied to it, which are
“ provided with abundant means for expressing the
“ relations of time. On the contrary, the German
“ approaches to the simplicity of the Hebrew and
“ other tongues which are capable of denoting only
“ the future and the præterite. Thus, in our older
“ dialects, the identity of the future and the present
“ is shown by the fact that the latter tense serves
“ for the former, although, as an exception, the
“ Anglo-Saxon appropriated a particular root of the
“ verb-substantive, *eom*, to the present as distin-
“ guished from the future form, *beo*. The same
“ peculiar relation is seen in the case of the Lithu-

⁵⁵ *Ib.* pp. 173, 175. Compare Davies' *Antiquæ Linguae Britt. Rudimenta*, Oxon. 1809, p. 92; Zeuss. *Grammatica Celtica*, Lipsiæ, 1853, vol. i. pp. 482, 527, 539.

" anian 'esmi,' 'sum,' and 'busu, ero;' the Sclavonian 'jesm' and 'budu;' and the Irish 'taim' and 'biad.' " ⁵⁶

Ulfilas constantly uses the present indicative for the future, and the practice continued in the old High-German.⁵⁷ There are instances of the same kind in the middle High-German, and even in the modern language, but then the verb is commonly accompanied by some adverb implying or expressing future time, as, *ich komme morgen*, or, *ich komme bald*: such sentences would no doubt require "veniam" or "viendrai" in Latin or French. A similar idiom is said to exist in Swedish,⁵⁸ and in English we not unfrequently say, "I am going to London to-morrow." In the Gothic the present subjunctive also lends its aid in expressing futurity, as the optative with *ǣv* may do in Greek. Ulfilas applies this form in such cases as the following: "haitais," καλέσεις—"Thou shalt call his name John" (Luke i. 13); "bidjau," ἐρωτήσω (John xvi. 26); but its use does not appear to have extended to other dialects besides the Mæso-Gothic. Grimm observes truly enough that the close relation between the future tense and the subjunctive mood is sufficiently shown by the analogy of their forms in the Latin conjugation.

⁵⁶ Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache, b. ii. s. 842. Compare Deutsche Grammatik, b. i. s. 1051; b. iv. ss. 139, 176; Latham's English Language, p. 321; Thorpe's translation of Rask's Anglo-Saxon Gr. p. 84. See App. B.

⁵⁷ Grimm, Deutsche Gramm. b. iv. s. 176. Compare Bopp, Comp. Gramm. Transl. p. 888.

⁵⁸ Grimm gives an example, Deutsche Gramm. b. iv. s. 177, n. 1.

Ulfilas evades the difficulty with regard to the verb-substantive by sometimes using the tenses of “vairthan,⁵⁹ fio,” the verb corresponding to werden, which plays so distinguished a part as an auxiliary in modern German.

According to Adelung,⁶⁰ the Magyar, as well as the Finn and the Esthonian, have no future properly so called, but employ the present instead. From the following extract from M. von Humboldt's Appendix to the Mithridates⁶¹ I infer that the Basque forms its future by means of the auxiliary and a participle; in such a manner, however, that the future force depends upon the participle employed, as it may be said to do in “sum facturus” or “habeo faciendum.”

“The tenses,” Humboldt says, “are expressed by means of the auxiliary and the participle of the verb. The auxiliary has two tenses; one complete in itself, and the other incomplete, or implying continuance, which can be employed for the present, præterite, and future respectively. These three last distinctions of time are marked by the participle, which accordingly is threefold, and all tenses are thus compounded without difficulty. The two tenses of the auxiliary with the present participle express the present or imperfect, with the past participle the perfect or pluperfect, and so on.”

⁵⁹ Thus in Matthew viii. 12, “There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth,” *ἔσται* is translated by vairthith, fit. Compare Grimm, Deutsche Gramm. b. iv. s. 177, Bopp, p. 888.

⁶⁰ Mithridates (Vater), 1809, b. ii. s. 774, n.

⁶¹ Ib. b. iv. s. 332.

It thus seems that in very many languages, including all those of the Teutonic stock, a proper future tense is wanting. It is still more remarkable that those modern tongues which are based on Greek and Latin were unable to retain the regular inflection of future forms with which the classical languages were so well provided; yet, as we shall see, many of them had no sooner lost their regular future, than they set themselves to work, with almost perfect uniformity of principle, to reconstruct, by means of an auxiliary, another inflected future, which they made part of themselves, and have cherished as one of their established tenses.

The German tongues and the modern Greek, on the other hand, do not appear to have organised any such inflection of the verb, but they have continued to supply the place of the future by auxiliaries of various kinds. The principle on which such auxiliaries have been selected is obvious enough. Some one of the states or conditions which usually precede an action or an event is predicated of the subject of the sentence, and the action or event itself is thus left to be inferred. When a man "has a thing to do," it may be supposed that he will do it; when he "wills" or "intends" a thing, or "is obliged" to do it, or is actually about it, we may conclude that the act itself will probably follow. Accordingly, in those languages which do not possess a future, some one of these preliminary conditions is asserted by means of a verb, which ultimately strips off its own special sense, is converted into an auxiliary, and becomes as it were a mere sign of time. As Mr.

Francis Newman says, "It is historically clear that "the words 'will,' 'shall,' 'have,' 'let,' 'going,' " 'may,' pass into auxiliaries by the process of "losing or modifying a part of their signification, "generally so as to become less emphatic."⁶²

Thus it is that words signifying choice or volition are applied indifferently to agents, things, or events; and, as the reader will have seen, one of the great sources of difficulty in the use of "shall" and "will" is the fact that these two verbs have not entirely got rid of their own special meaning. They are sometimes employed as mere auxiliaries, whilst at other times their original sense thrusts itself forward, and must be considered in their application. Occasionally it is difficult to determine whether they are simple auxiliaries or not; nor can this ambiguity surprise us when we reflect that the reason why they pass into auxiliaries at all is because their own special meaning fits them for such service.

In discussing these verbs, Grimm begins with "haban."⁶³ He observes that in the passage, *ὁ δὲ ποιῶ καὶ ποιήσω* (2 Cor. xi. 12), Ulfilas translates the future by "taujan haba," using the simple infinitive with the verb "have;" whereas the old High German generally interposes the preposition "ze" or "zi," as we now place "to" in English between the auxiliary verb and the infinitive, or as *ᾧστε*

⁶² Classical Museum, No. xxv. p. 254.

⁶³ Deutsche Gramm. b. iv. ss. 93, 108, 178. So in John vi. 6. Ulfilas translates the Greek *τί ἐμελλε ποιεῖν*, by "thatci habaida taujan." Zahn (note *ad l.* and Gramm. s. 51) points out that he usually employed *munan* to represent the original *μέλλειν*.

is sometimes used in Greek. It is by no means clear, however, that in this and similar cases the notion of duty or compulsion is not present. St. Paul might desire to express intention, as is done by our English version, or he might wish to convey the idea of duty; as in middle High German, "Nu habet ju ze râten" means "Nun rathet, nun mögt—nun sollt ihr rathen"—"deliberandum est vobis"—rather than the pure future. In this passage of the Epistle to the Corinthians the translation of the Greek future into English or Gothic becomes more definite than the original, at the risk of departing from the meaning of the author.

Besides "haban," the Mæso-Gothic possessed another verb of nearly the same meaning—"aigan," ἔχω, represented in Anglo-Saxon by "agan" or "ægan," "to own," with which are connected the modern German "eigen" and all its kindred words. Portions of this verb "aigan" were used as an auxiliary in the same manner as "haban."⁶⁴

The Gothic "munan," "to think," with its præterite "munaida," may also be held to have been used as a sort of auxiliary for the formation of a future. It was one of those strong perfects from an obsolete present ("mina") which usurped a present signification, and thus corresponds with "memini" and the Greek μέμνηται.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Compare Grimm, Deutsche Gramm. b. iv. ss. 93, 178. See App. C.

⁶⁵ Compare Grimm, Gesch. der Deutschen Spr. b. ii. s. 904. In his Grammar Grimm appears to distinguish "munan, recordari" from "munan, putare," though he does not deny the

The Gothic "munan" answers to the Greek μέλλειν: thus in John xiv. 22, μέλλεις ἐμφανίζεῖν is translated by Ulfilas "munais gabairhtian," "thou wilt manifest thyself." Similar instances occur elsewhere;⁶⁶ but in many of them, at any rate, the notion of intention may be supposed to predominate, so that they scarcely afford examples of a proper future tense. In the Old Norse or Icelandic, however, an irregular "munu" is employed as a future auxiliary; and with this should be mentioned the Swedish and Danish interrogative particles "mon" and "monu." Mr. Edwin Guest tells us, "In old English, 'mun' often indicates mere futurity, like the Icelandic 'mun;' and the peculiar sense now given to it—that of obligation—appears to have been its latest derivative meaning. The phrase 'we mun go' may have taken successively the meanings, 'we think of going,' 'we shall go,' 'we must go.'"⁶⁷

I confess that the examples cited by Mr. Guest are not of themselves sufficient to satisfy me that pure futurity was a sense of our provincial English "mun" anterior to that of obligation. Most of them appear to admit a shade of the latter meaning, but perhaps Mr. Guest has other strong reasons to urge in support of his theory.

connection; μέμνη in Homer seems always to refer to desire or determination.

⁶⁶ See above, note 63. Compare Luke x. 1, xix. 4, John vi. 15 (Zahn's Ulfilas).

⁶⁷ Trans. of Philolog. Society, 1845, p. 155. Compare Grimm, Deutsche Gramm. b. ii. s. 762, Philolog. Museum, vol. ii. p. 321, and especially Bopp, Comparative Grammar (Transl.), p. 888.

As a matter of course one must advert to the Anglo-Saxon "munan" or "gemunan," "to mind," related as it evidently is to the Latin "mens," the Greek μέλει, μέλομαι, and many kindred forms. Even now, in common conversation, our English verb "to mean" may be used almost as a future auxiliary. There is nothing very harsh in saying, "It looks as if *it meant* to rain." It is difficult to believe that there is no etymological connection between all these words and the Greek μέλλειν.⁶⁸

The next verb which demands our attention is the representative of our modern "shall." The Gothic

⁶⁸ See Bopp, Comparative Grammar, p. 889. The interchange of λ and ν is common enough in Greek itself, as in the Cretan βέντιον for βέλτιον, the Sicilian ἦνθον for ἦλθον, and φίντατος for φίλτατος (Müller, Dorier. Ant. viii. s. 507). Compare also the Scholia in Aristophanes Ranæ, l. 822, ἐπισκύνιον κατὰ μετὰθesis τοῦ λ εἰς ν. σκυῖλος γὰρ λέγεται τὸ δέρμα. In like manner πλεύμων and πνεύμων were interchanged. If we want an instance in a modern language, it is afforded in the Spanish proper name Lebrija or Nebrija.

It is hardly necessary to observe that μέλλω is used of inanimate objects, as of the stake with which Ulysses was about to put out the eye of the Cyclops—

Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ὁ μοχλὸς ἐλάϊνος ἐν πυρὶ μέλλεν

Ἀψασθαι.—Odyss. ix. l. 378.

On the various senses of ἔμελλεν, compare Nitsch. Anmerk. Odyss. i. 232.

I forbear from entering upon the wide field of etymological conjecture which is opened by Buttmann (Lexilogus, b. ii. s. 260, in ν. βλίσσειν) in his observations on the gloss of Hesychius, βλεῖ, βαδίξει. The commentator appears to connect μολεῖν, μέλλω, μέλει, μέλομαι, &c., and to consider the idea of futurity in μέλλω as derived from that of motion in μολεῖν on a principle analogous to that on which "je vais perdre," or "perditum iri," are founded. See below, note 84, on the Latin desideratives.

form is "skulan" in the infinitive; and it also belongs to that ancient class of words, each of which Grimm characterises as a "displaced præterite,"⁶⁹ or a præterite promoted to do the duty of a present. I have already observed that we are familiar enough with such verbs as *κέκτημαι*, *μέμονα*, or "odi," "novi," "cœpi;" but in this class of Teutonic verbs the præterite made, as it were, a fresh start in its new character, and acquired a conjugation of its own.

Grimm's whole discussion of these curious forms in the Teutonic language is most interesting. He reckons thirteen verbs of the sort in Gothic—all originally *strong* perfects of very old presents, most of which, it would appear, gradually cast off their special sense, and acquired at a very early period a sort of auxiliary character. If his account of "skulan" be correct, it affords a remarkable instance how the institutions of a people, in the most remote antiquity, may set their mark on its language. He says,⁷⁰ "'Skal,' debeo, implies 'a form 'skila;,' but the reader will be surprised at 'the original meaning, which I affix to these words. 'Skila' must have meant, 'I kill or wound;,' 'skal,' 'I have killed or wounded, and I am therefore liable to pay the *wergeld*.' We find the Gothic 'skilja' 'lanio,' a 'slayer' or 'killer,' as derived from 'skila' (1 Cor. x. 25); and I believe that to the same source may be traced the old High German 'scëlmo,' 'pestis,' and 'scëlmic,'

⁶⁹ See above, note 64, &c.

⁷⁰ Geschichte der Deutschen Spr. b. ii. s. 902. See App. D.

" 'morticinus,' like 'helm,' a helmet or covering,
 " from 'hilu.' Perhaps, too, the old Norse 'skilja,'
 " 'discriminare,' 'intelligere,' may be added; if
 " we are justified in supposing the original notion
 " was that of dissection, or cutting in pieces, 'dilani-
 " 'are,' 'discindere,' 'diffindere.' We shall no
 " longer, at any rate, be embarrassed to explain why
 " in Ulfilas 'dulgs' means 'debitum, a debt,' whilst
 " in Anglo-Saxon 'dolg,' and the old High German
 " 'tolc,' signify 'a wound.' In the old Norse,
 " 'dôlgr' is 'an enemy.' The infliction of a wound
 " was as much the subject of the wergeld as a deadly
 " blow; and the expressions 'sculd' and 'dulgs'
 " illustrate one another completely." "Dulgis-
 " skula" and "dulgishaitja" are used by Ulfilas for
 the debtor and the creditor respectively: "he who
 " owes the debt," and "he who bids it" or "de-
 " mands it." ⁷¹

No philologist is more entitled to attention than
 Grimm in such a matter; and it is certainly curious
 to find our English word which denotes moral duty,
 pointing to the forests of Germany, where the death-
 blow was compounded for by the "wergeld."

It is clear, at any rate, that in the Mæso-Gothic
 "skal" was used to signify "I owe." For instance,
 in John ix. 4, the words of Christ, ἐμὲ δεῖ ἐργάζεσθαι
 are translated by Ulfilas, "Ik skal waurkjan."

"Shall" retained this sense in English with a
 case after it, as in Chaucer's 'Court of Love:—

"For by the faithe I shall to God."

⁷¹ Luke vii. 4.

Hence, then, the secondary sense of duty or moral obligation, as in the case of "ought" being the præterite of "owe." In both instances, too, it will be observed that the moral or secondary sense has superseded that from which it was originally derived.⁷²

Grimm admits that the Mæso-Gothic "skulan" rarely or never is applied to express the simple future, but he seems to quote almost as an exception the translation of the passage of St. Luke (i. 66) τί ἄρα τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο ἔσται; "what manner of child shall this be?" "Hua skuli thata barn wairthan?" It appears to me, however, that although "skuli" apparently translates the Greek future, yet it really signifies "what manner of child is this *destined to be*?" and does not therefore represent the simple future. The connection of the sense of destiny with that of debt is obvious enough: ἔσται is really translated by the two Gothic words "skuli wairthan."

I need not repeat what has been said above with reference to our English "shall,"—how supposed foreknowledge, or the assumption of a foregone conclusion, is often the principle on which that verb is preferred to "will." The Anglo-Saxon "sceal"⁷³ is frequently used with the sense of "oportet" or "decet," but according to Grimm it also occurs with a pure future sense. Bosworth, however, says, "It is said to denote the future tense when followed by an infinitive verb, but it rather conveys an

⁷² See above, note 64.

⁷³ See Grimm, Deutsche Gramm. b. iv. s. 179; Bosworth, A. S. Dict. in v. "sceal."

“idea of obligation or command.” At any rate the use of this verb as an auxiliary for expressing the future tense appears to have rapidly established itself in most of the Teutonic dialects, so that it may be reckoned as the oldest form of the German future.

We find it in the *Nibelungen Lied*; as, for instance, when Chriemhilt announces her intention of foregoing both the pains and joys of love, she says—

Ich sol sie miden beide.—I. 68.

It occurs also, formally at least, with the third person—

Iu sol mit triwen dienen immer Sivrides hant.⁷⁴—IV. 660.

It is remarkable that, notwithstanding this early usage of “sollen,” the verb hardly exists in modern High German as a future auxiliary, having been supplanted by *werden*: whilst in the Low German dialects, and in English, Flemish, and Dutch, it is thoroughly and completely established. “Soll,” in High German, retains scarcely any sense except that of “debeo,” “I ought to do a thing,” and other meanings which are closely allied with this, as, for instance, destiny, or command. The usage in modern German, of “soll,” to denote common report, or supposition, is also curious: *e.g.* “Der Kaiser soll gestorben sein,”⁷⁵ “the emperor is said or supposed to be dead.” Adelung⁷⁶ states that in old Swedish the substantive “skuld” signi-

⁷⁴ For other instances see Grimm, *Gr. b. iv. s. 180.*

⁷⁵ See above, p. 21, ch. 1.

⁷⁶ Adelung, *Wörterbuch*, in v. “sollen.”

fied futurity; we know that the modern German "schuld" means debt, or obligation. The Swedes and Danes still form their futures with "skall," and "skal," retaining occasionally, as in English, the more definite sense of duty.⁷⁷

It appears that the Gothic "viljan,"⁷⁸ the representative of our modern auxiliary "will," never expresses the genuine future, but implies volition or intention. An approximation, however, to its auxiliary use may be traced in the High German of Ottfried, in the ninth century, and continues to be found in other writers, as well as in the Nibelungen Lied. Grimm says, "It is evident that this circumlocution, both in old and middle High German, is properly limited to the first person; for it is only where a man speaks of himself that he can be so sure of the will and determination as to predict what is about to be done. When the verb is used with the second or third person it retains simply the sense of volition, and does not express the notion that a thing is certainly about to happen: thus, 'ihr welt wizzen' means, not 'scietis,' 'you will know,' but 'scire vultis,' you wish to know.' In modern High German, however, 'er will kommen' is undoubtedly in some cases applied in the sense of 'veniet, he will come,' whilst 'du willst kommen' can scarcely stand for 'venies,' but must mean 'you have a mind—you wish to come.' All other German dialects abide

⁷⁷ See App. E.

⁷⁸ Grimm, Deutsche Gramm. b. iv. ss. 180, 181.

" by the specific sense of the verb : thus, for example,
 " the Anglo-Saxon 'biddan ville' means 'rogare
 " volo, I wish to ask,' 'he ville etan,' 'vult edere,
 " 'he wishes to eat.' There is the same difference
 " between this and the future as between the
 " French 'je veux manger,' and 'je mangerai.' "

The use of "will" with the first person, for the purpose of expressing the future, continues in parts of Germany, as, for instance, on the Rhine.⁷⁹ This idiom contrasts very oddly with the English appropriation of "shall" to the first, and "will" to the second and third persons; but the different principle in which the respective forms originate has been already explained.

Grimm discusses the use of "soll," will, and "werden," in modern High German in the following passage :⁸⁰—

" Quid faciam? cannot well be expressed other-
 " wise than by 'was soll ich thun?' *wollen* denotes
 " rather the free exercise of the will; *sollen* the
 " imperative future, as, 'du sollst warten' (expec-
 " tabis); *werden* the pure abstract future, 'the event
 " 'will happen' (eveniet). *Wollen* adapts itself
 " best to the first person, *sollen* to the second,
 " *werden* to the third. So far the modern High
 " German has worked out the idea of the future
 " with greater exactness than any other dialect,
 " but still in many cases a choice among these forms

⁷⁹ Grimm, *Gesch. der Deutschen Spr.*, b. ii. s. 908; *Deutsche Gramm.*, b. iv. ss. 182, 183, note. See above, p. 14.

⁸⁰ *Deutsche Gramm.*, ib.

" is left open to us. For example, 'quid tandem de
" 'te fiet?' may be expressed 'was *soll*—oder *will*—
" 'oder *wird*—aus dir werden?' Luther writes 'will
" 'werden' in preference to 'wird werden.' 'Cras
" 'veniam' can only be translated by 'ich will' or
" 'ich werde kommen,' not by 'ich soll.' 'Amabo te,
" —'osculabor te' cannot be rendered otherwise than
" by 'ich will dich lieben—dich küssen.' On the
" other hand, a man must say 'ich werde dich lieben
" 'auch wenn du mich hassest,' a distinction to
" which the Dutch and Flemish 'ik zal beminnen'
" cannot attain."

Now it will be observed that this last example of Grimm's at once explains itself; "ich will dich lieben," &c., does not express what he wants, because the essence of the sentence is incompatible with volition. This proves that "will" in German has not lost its own special meaning, so as to become a mere future auxiliary. "I cannot help loving you, though I don't want to do so," is the point of the whole.

The German, no doubt, has a certain advantage in the choice between three instead of two auxiliaries, but I cannot admit that it expresses the various shades of a future sense with greater precision than the English. The two languages differ very curiously, and the future idiom of each is founded on a different view. In translating such a sentence as "quid de te fiet?" it is by no means indifferent which auxiliary is used, and the translator, in rendering the pure future, must employ that auxiliary which seems best to suit the context.

Before we proceed to different verbs, it is worth while to turn aside for a moment and look at idioms in other languages which are analogous to our use of "will."

Every reader of Herodotus knows the instances in which ἐθέλω or θέλω is employed in a manner differing very little from our own use of the corresponding auxiliary.⁸¹ Thus Harpagus, debating whether he should kill the child Cyrus, is represented as saying, εἰ δὲ θελήσει ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννίς (I. c. 109); and again, in the second Book (c. 14), Herodotus speculates on the future fate of Egypt in the following words: εἴ σφι ἐδελήσει ἢ χώρα ἢ ἐνερθε Μέμφιος αὐξάνεσθαι. An Englishman, in common conversation, might speak metaphorically in such a case and say, "If the country

⁸¹ See Liddell and Scott, Lexicon in v. no. 4. Compare Aristoph. Vespæ, l. 537, and Bekker's note. In this a reference is made to Coray on Isocrates, p. 244, who, it is there said, "junctum infinitivo præsentis pro peraphrasi futuri habet"—a view of the idiom not unnatural for a modern Greek. Compare Ast. ad Plat. Phædrum, p. 235, Republ. pp. 423, 548 (Lips. 1814). The use of ἐθέλω in Homer, as contrasted with that of βούλομαι, is curious. The latter involves a stronger notion of will or volition, and is therefore applied generally to the gods. In Iliad Λ, l. 319, βόλεται is the reading, I believe, now adopted for ἐθέλει. See Buttmann's Lexilog. in v. βούλομαι. Another English use of "will," or rather of "would," which has its parallel in one of the senses of ἐθέλει in Herodotus, is that in which it denotes habit—

"At every bridall would he singe and hoppe."

Chaucer, Coke's Tale, l. 4373.

Corresponding to μέγαλα πρήγματα μεγάλοις κινδύνοις ἐθέλει καταιρῆσθαι, Herodot. L. viii. c. 50. The habit is inferred from the existence of the will or inclination to do the act.

“below Memphis shall choose, or take it into its head, to increase;” but such sentences would be regularly translated by “shall,” in consequence of their conditional character. Without the “if” in either case, the simple assertion of futurity would require “will:” “the succession will come round to this girl;” or, “the country below Memphis will increase.” An Irishman, Scotchman, or American might possibly render the conditional sentences by “will” also.

So far as I remember, this use of ἐθέλω in Herodotus is confined to examples in which a supposition is made, and which in English are expressed quite as properly by the present subjunctive as by the future.

The modern Greek, when it dropped so many of the inflections of its mother tongue, availed itself of θέλω pretty much as it is used by Herodotus, and applied it as a future auxiliary.⁸² “The future,” says Mr. Donaldson, “has various forms, θέλω γράψῃ or γράψῃ occurring commonly in the written language, while the usual conversational future is θὰ γράψω or γράφω; θὰ is a contraction for θέλει νὰ, and should be followed by the conjunctive; it is generally, however, joined with the indicative.”

Thus, whilst in ancient Greek the desiderative verbs, such as δρασεῖω, were formed directly from the future, in the modern language the future is con-

⁸² Donaldson's Modern Greek Grammar, Edinburgh, 1853, p. 21, 22. There is also a conditional form, ἤθελε γράφω, “I would write,” ἤθελε γράφεις, &c.

structed by means of the verb which expresses will or desire : one process is the converse of the other.

Bopp says,⁸³ “Several idioms quite independent of one another have, simply through internal impulse, come to the decision of expressing the future by the verb ‘to will.’ It is certain that modern Greek and the old High German (§ 661)—nay, even the various German dialects—have in this respect borrowed nothing from one another, nor imitated each other. The old Slavonic also sometimes employs an auxiliary verb signifying ‘to will’ to express the future.

“It is not however to be overlooked that the examples which Dobrowsky (p. 380) adduces from the translation of the Bible are in the Greek text preceded by μέλλω; for which reason, unless other instances occur, we must conjecture that the wish of keeping as close as possible to the original suggested the use of his verb ‘choshchû’ to the Slavonic translator.” (See Luke xxi.; Matth. xi. 14.)

The author then goes on to observe that the Sanscrit sometimes employs its desideratives to express the future, and that the Latin forms desiderative verbs from the future participle in “ūrus,” abbreviating the u and adding the characteristic of the fourth conjugation.⁸⁴

The Wallachian or Daco-Roman offers one of the two exceptional instances of the formation of a future among the Romance languages, and furnishes

⁸³ Comparative Grammar, Transl. p. 889.

⁸⁴ See App. F.

another example of the independent adoption of a future auxiliary, "will." "Cantabo," we are told by Diez, is expressed by "voiu cëntâ."⁸⁵

In the use of "werden"⁸⁶ for the future, modern High German stands alone; even in middle High German it can scarcely be said to have been employed as a simple future auxiliary with the infinitive mood. Before the time of Luther, Hans Sachs, and Fischart, the idiom had become established, and, having thus grown up in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, "werden" has now completely superseded "sollen." It seems very doubtful whether the Gothic use of "vairthith" for ἔσται, which has been noticed above, is in any way connected with the High German application of "werden."

Very little seems to have been gained by the substitution of this verb for "sollen" and its kindred forms; on the contrary, a modern German sentence is sometimes overloaded with "werdens." Again, it is ambiguous. "Wird begraben" may mean either "sepeliet" or "sepelitur," and it is very possible that the passive use of the auxiliary may have facilitated its introduction with the active infinitive in a future sense. Nothing can well be

⁸⁵ The Romance language of the Grisons forms its future by the representative of the Latin "venire," as "veng à cantar," Diez, *Gramm. der Roman. Sprachen*, b. ii. s. 100. Compare above, notes 68 and 84.

⁸⁶ What follows is substantially translated from Grimm, *Deutsche Grammat.* b. iv. s. 181. As to the early use of "werden," compare the same work, b. iv. ss. 7, 92. It should be observed that the Swiss dialect of German forms its future by "werden." See Stalder, *Schweizerisches Idiotikon*, b. i. s. 49.

clumsier than the German passive future, "wird gegeben werden," unless it be the Latin form of the same tense, "datum iri."

Still it must be admitted that in itself and in the abstract, as Bopp says,⁸⁷ "werden is in fact the most natural and most certain expression of future being—far better than the auxiliary forms, 'to will,' and 'to owe.' He who is becoming will certainly arrive at being; he is one who will be hereafter. The man who 'wills' or 'owes' may be unable to give effect to his will or duty; he may be hindered from doing what he would or should, or he may alter his mind and not carry out what he intended."

Perhaps the only relic in modern English of the verb corresponding to "werden" is in such expressions as, "woe worth thee!" "woe worth the day!" in which I conceive that "woe" is a substantive, and that "thee" and "day" have the force of the dative case, as in "meseems" and "methinks."⁸⁸

Mr. Guest⁸⁹ informs us that in our Southern dialects the verb "worth" was once very generally employed with a future signification, and thus inflected:—

Sing. Worthe, worst, worth. *Plur.* Wortheth.

Among examples, he gives the following:—

"Help thi kynde heritage, and thou worst (*i. e.* shalt be) ther kynge anon."—*Robert of Gloucester*, 101.

⁸⁷ Comparative Grammar (Transl.), p. 888.

⁸⁸ See Dr. Latham's English Language, p. 319.

⁸⁹ Transactions of Philolog. Society, 1846, p. 224.

Latimer⁹⁰ used it in the sense of “*fio*,” as, “and I thought oft, Jesu, what will worth? what will be the end of this man?”

The future of the Romance languages has been already referred to, but any consideration of auxiliary verbs applicable to this tense would be altogether imperfect without some more detailed notice of the principle on which, according to M. Raynouard and the best authorities, this important class of modern tongues has formed this tense. We may reckon the languages directly descended from the Latin as six—that is to say, two Eastern, the Wallachian or Daco-Roman, and the Italian; two South-western, the Spanish and Portuguese; and two North-western, the Provençal and the French.⁹¹ To these may, of course, be added subordinate branches of each stock, such as the Walloon, which forms a sort of stratum between the French and the Flemish;⁹² the Catalonian, more nearly related to the Provençal than to its sister tongues of the Penin-

⁹⁰ Fourth Sermon before Edward VI. Speaking of Lord Seymour of Sudeley.

⁹¹ Diez, *Grammat. der Romanischen Sprachen*, b. ii. ss. 99, 100. An account equally clear, and more accessible to the English reader, will be found in the essay of the Right Hon. Sir George C. Lewis on the Origin and Formation of the Romance Languages (London, 1839), pp. 193 to 196. I have taken the extract in my text from Diez only because there is no translation of his Grammar that I know of, and consequently it is not so accessible to the English reader.

⁹² The author of the book ‘*Mélanges sur les Langues, Dialectes, et Patois*’ (Paris, 1831), estimates the number of persons speaking Walloon as about 1,200,000 (p. 17). If I mistake not, the boundary of the Walloon and Flemish is to be found a few miles south of Mechlin, but I am not confident of this fact.

sula ; the Chur-Wälsch, or language of the Grisons ;⁹³ the Gallician, almost identical with the Portuguese ; and all the varied or provincial dialects of France, Italy, and the islands of the Mediterranean.

The following account of the future tense of the Romance languages is extracted from the Grammar of Diez.⁹⁴ "The verb *habere* was again used in a circumlocution to express the future. It would have been possible to follow the analogy of the past tenses, and to have employed the future passive participle in *dus*, just as the past participle was applied in the *præterite*. The sense 'I will sing' might have been expressed by '*habeo cantandum aliquem*,' just as well as the sense 'I have sung' by '*habeo cantatum*.' The Latin syntax, however, itself supplied a more convenient form by the combination of '*habere*' with the infinitive of the verb—a construction not unknown to the Greek, and which may have been more common

⁹³ The country of the Grisons, part of the ancient *Rhætia*, is supposed by some to retain in its proper names traces of the relationship of its original population with the Etruscans (see Ludwig Steub, *Urbewohner Rætiens*, München, 1843; compare Niebuhr, *Röm. Gesch.*, b. i. s. 125). A large number of persons in the Grisons speak a dialect of German, another portion use a patois of Italian, and about half are said to employ what they themselves call "*antiquissm lungaig da l'aulta Rhætia*," which is derived from the Latin. Compare Adelung's *Mithridates* (Vater), b. ii. ss. 598, 610. I do not know whether Dr. W. Freund has yet published the volume which he proposed on this language. He gave a lecture upon the subject before the Ethnographical Society in 1853. See *Athenæum*, April 30, 1853, and Oct. 8, 1853.

⁹⁴ See reference, note 91.

“ in the spoken ⁹⁵ than the written language among
 “ the Romans. ‘Habeo audire’ conveys the same no-
 “ tion as ‘habeo audiendum,’ or ‘habeo quod au-
 “ ‘diam,’ ‘I have to hear’ (Voss. Aristarch. vii.
 “ 51), and the relation of this to ‘I will hear,’ or ‘I
 “ shall hear,’ is obvious enough.

“ If we suppose the verb ‘have’ to mean ‘this
 “ ‘belongs to me’—if ‘habeo’ expresses ‘meum
 “ ‘est’ (scilicet negotium),⁹⁶ and the infinitive be
 “ taken as a substantive in the objective case—still
 “ retaining its verbal power of governing a case of
 “ its own—then the Romance ‘cantare aliquem
 “ ‘habeo’ becomes properly equivalent to ‘cantabo
 “ ‘aliquem.’ So far as form is concerned, a process
 “ was thus repeated with which we are familiar in
 “ the ancient languages; the auxiliary verb gradu-

⁹⁵ This construction of ἔχω in Homer usually takes the infinitive of the aorist, and denotes power or capacity. Sometimes, however, it has the present, as

ὅφρ' ἂν ἔχης βόσκειν σὴν γαστήρ' ἀναλτον.

Odyss. xviii. l. 363.

Cicero (Ep. ad Fam. i. Ep. 4) uses “habeo polliceri” for “I can promise.” In Valerius Flaccus we find—

——tollique vicissim

Pontus habet.—i. 671.

Where, as Vossius remarks, “habet” is opposed to “casus” in the preceding lines: it might well, therefore, be translated by the German “sollen.” This construction resembles that of the sentence of Tertullian, “Filius Dei mori habuit” (de habitu muliebri, c. i.). Ducange quotes another sentence, “Ego enim eum habeo baptizare.” Compare what is said above of the use of the corresponding verb in Mæso-Gothic.

⁹⁶ For instance, “Puto esse meum quid sentiam exponere” (Cicero, ad Attic. v. Ep. 13), “I think it my business—it belongs to me,” which presents a clear analogy with the verb “owe,” in the sense of being the owner of a thing. See App. C.

"ally lost all meaning of its own, and became a
 "mere inflexion. It finally coalesced as a suffix
 "with the infinitive, and under the guise of a single
 "word replaced the Latin future, which very pro-
 "bably had owed its origin to a process of the same
 "kind.⁹⁷ The Italian 'canterò' is nothing more or
 "less than the combination of 'cantar ho.'"

The proofs of this formation are to be found in the following considerations:—

1st. It is a fact that in Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, and Provençal, the termination of the future, *through all its persons*, varies as the verb "to have" varies in the same language. The following table will exhibit this sufficiently as regards the first person.⁹⁸

Language.	ITALIAN.	SPANISH.	PORTUGUESE.	PROVENÇAL.	FRENCH.
First person of verb "to have."	ho.	he.	hei.	ai.	ai.
First person of future of "to sing."	canterò.	cantaré.	cantarei.	chantarai.	chanterai.

2ndly. There exists in Italian a recognised, though obsolete, form of the present of "avere," which is "aggio," and accordingly we find an obsolete form of the future in correspondence with it: for example, "canteraggio."

3rdly. This origin of the future is confirmed by the analogy to it of the subjunctive mood in the same language.

⁹⁷ See above, note 56.

⁹⁸ Compare Lewis on the Romance Languages, p. 196.

4thly. In some of the Romance languages the auxiliary has coalesced with the infinitive so imperfectly that the personal pronoun can occasionally be inserted between them. This is so both in Spanish and Portuguese; as, for instance, “cantar-te-he” may stand for “te cantaré.” In the Sardinian dialect⁹⁹ we are told that the representative of “habere” has taken its place before the verb, and has not become an inflection: thus the future of the verb-substantive is given as “appu essi,” “has essi,” “hat essi.” Plural, “eus essi,” “eis essi,” “hanta essi.”

No facts in the history of language are more striking than those presented to us in the reorganization (as it may be called) of the Romance languages. The case is well stated by Sir George Lewis (p. 43). He says, “They have just the amount of resemblance “which might have been expected in languages “derived from the same original, and just the “amount of difference which might have been “expected in languages formed under the same “circumstances, independently of each other.”

— facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.

It is remarkable how, in this independent forma-

⁹⁹ Diez, b. ii. s. 100, Anm. This insertion of the pronoun between the infinitive and the auxiliary verb shows itself in the subjunctive also. Thus we find in ‘El Conde Lucanor,’ “placemeia” for “placera á me.” ‘El Conde Lucanor’ was composed early in the 14th century by Don Juan Manuel, a prince of the blood royal. See Ticknor, History of Spanish Literature, vol. i. p. 70.

tion of separate tongues, the instinctive principle of language was in each case carrying out a double process at the same time. Whilst with the one hand the inflections of the Latin, the parent-stock, were rudely stripped off and apparently thrown away, with the other the fragments were unconsciously put together again under the pressure of a strong feeling for the necessity of grammatical forms.

Few men have written on language whose words are better worth quoting than William von Humboldt's: he speaks as follows of the construction of the Romance tongues.¹⁰⁰ "Be the cause what it may, the fact
" is certain—languages essentially rich in inflected
" forms gradually become poorer in them, and replace
" them by distinct words, until, when looked at in
" detail, they seem to approach languages based on
" an original principle totally different and less perfect than that which is the foundation of their own
" structure.

" Abundant examples of this process may be
" drawn from the modern German, and especially
" from the English; nor does it appear to me that
" the mixture of a Romance dialect (the Norman)

¹⁰⁰ Wilhelm von Humboldt, Ueber die Verschiedenheit des Menschlichen Sprachbaues, ss. 285, 286, 288. It will be understood that I leave untouched the question, how far, in times which philological research cannot reach, inflected languages may have been originally formed by the "agglutination" of significant sounds. I am fully aware also how little the fragments translated in the text do justice to Humboldt's whole argument. On the question of the scanty remains of the early British tongue in English, compare Hallam, supplemental notes to Middle Ages, No. 131, p. 225.

“ with the latter has any connection with this fact,
“ inasmuch as such mixture exercised little or no
“ influence on the grammatical construction. I do
“ not, however, admit that a system of inflections
“ originally existing ceases to produce its effect on
“ the structure of a language, even to the most
“ remote time. To such a lasting operation of the
“ genius of a language must be attributed the pure
“ grammatical structure of the various tongues
“ derived from the Latin. It is impossible to ex-
“ plain the remarkable phænomena connected with
“ the reconstruction of these tongues without laying
“ proper stress on the fact that the grammatical
“ principle of the parent language was but little im-
“ paired by contact with the foreign elements, which
“ became united with it in the course of forming the
“ Romance dialects.

“ The languages indigenous, so to speak, in the
“ countries where these dialects were developed,
“ had little or no share in their organization: such
“ at least was the case with the Basque, and most
“ probably it was so with the idioms prevailing
“ throughout Gaul. Thus, whilst many single words
“ were without doubt derived from the invading
“ tribes, who were mainly Teutons, yet the influence
“ of their speech on the grammar of the Romance
“ language can hardly be traced. It is with great
“ difficulty that a people allow the mould or form in
“ which habit has taught them to cast the expression
“ of their thoughts to be altered. Accordingly the
“ foundation of the grammatical structure of the new
“ languages remained the same as that of the lan-

“ guage which was destroyed, although no doubt
“ the process of destruction had begun long before
“ it was in any way perceptible. The Roman
“ tongue, while the Empire flourished, had been
“ spoken in the provinces according to different
“ idioms, and in a manner distinct from that which
“ prevailed in Latium and the city. It is likely
“ that even in this original centre of the nation, the
“ popular language retained peculiarities which be-
“ came more generally diffused as the cultivated
“ speech declined. Variations in pronunciation, sole-
“ cisms in grammar, and probably even aid by
“ means of prepositions to the structure of a phrase,
“ may have prevailed in popular speech, though the
“ more cultivated language admitted them only as
“ exceptions. As this cultivated language, in the
“ gradual decline of the state, ceased to be upheld
“ at its proper level by literature and colloquial in-
“ tercourse, the necessary consequence was that
“ vulgarisms and popular phrases began to predo-
“ minate. The degradation of the tongue in the
“ provinces continued too to advance in proportion
“ as the ties which bound them to the Empire be-
“ came looser and looser.

“ At last the foreign immigration carried to the
“ furthest point this double process of decay. It
“ was no longer a mere sinking of a language which
“ had ceased to hold sway ; but essential forms were
“ stripped off, or violently shattered, often because
“ they were really misunderstood. Still, at the
“ same time, it was necessary to substitute for
“ such forms, some means for maintaining unity of

“ speech among the population ; and this had to be
“ done from the elements immediately at hand,
“ which were often ignorantly combined. Amidst
“ all changes, however, there remained alive in the
“ sinking language the essential principle of its
“ structure—the clear distinction between the no-
“ tion of things and their relations, and the craving
“ for means to express this distinction which the
“ habit of ages had stamped on the mind of the
“ people. The impress of this feeling clung to
“ every fragment of the language, and it would not
“ have been effaced if the nations themselves had
“ been unconscious of its existence. It depended,
“ however, on each of these to pick out the ele-
“ ments on which the principle depended—to dis-
“ entangle and recombine them. The phænomena
“ presented by the Romance languages, which thus,
“ in countries far removed from one another, sur-
“ prise us by striking coincidences in detail, can
“ only be explained in one way, and that is by
“ assuming an uniformity of principle in their
“ change, based on one and the same instinctive
“ feeling for language, working with a mother
“ tongue, whose grammatical structure at any rate
“ remained one and the same, and in the main un-
“ impaired. Particular *forms* disappeared, but the
“ essential principle of *form* in the abstract still
“ lived on and shed its influence over each new
“ creation.”¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ I must observe that the principle involved in this extract has a direct bearing on the question of classical education, if it

Now nothing affords a better illustration of these remarks than the fact with which we are now concerned—the mode in which a future was independently organized in all the Romance languages.

The particular forms of the Latin future, as it existed in the ordinary conjugations, had sunk; but the instinct of language caused the void to be felt. A Latin idiom was caught up to supply its place. In the great majority of cases this idiom was one and the same. But the habit of inflecting the verb itself—the synthetic principle—still lived and ultimately prevailed; so that in the French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Provençal, the auxiliary verb ended by becoming a suffix, combining with the root, and forming by inflection a new and regular future tense.

On the other hand, in the languages of the Teutonic stock, in which the force of this synthetic principle did not prevail in the same degree, no

be only with reference to its influence on our own language. Since the invention of printing a language is moulded and formed mainly by its literature. Popular speech and popular writing are sure to exercise great control, and they will operate entirely in what may be called an "analytic" direction. The safeguard against excess on this side which is afforded by the classical education of polished and cultivated writers is on this account all the more important, as balancing the tendency to forego a system of grammatical forms. The real excellence of a language, as far as its structure is concerned, would appear to consist in its blending in due proportion the precision and convenience of the analytic with the conciseness and force of the synthetic character. I trust the habit of "telegraphic" communication may not re-act on the structure of modern languages; if it does so strongly, we shall approach the idiom of the Chinese more and more nearly.

such amalgamation of the auxiliary with the principal verb—no formation of an inflected future—has taken place. The result is that the Germans are left with “werden,” and we are obliged to do the best we can with “shall” and “will.” I think it has been shown, however, that the English application of these two verbs, though it may be difficult to acquire and preserve incorrupt, is neither irrational in its origin, nor deficient in force and precision in its use.

APPENDIX.

(A.)

IN the sentence of Cicero (Ep. ix. 15), "Nam mihi scito jam
"à regibus allatas esse litteras, quibus mihi gratias agant,
"quòd se meâ sententiâ reges appellaverim," the reflexive
pronoun is used, because the dependent sentence is placed
in the mouth of the persons addressing Cicero, and is in fact
a quotation (compare Zumpt, Lat. Gramm. § 550, n. 1).
The case is, however, a remarkable one, inasmuch as the
quotation is in an *oblique* form, and the use of the first per-
son, "appellaverim," seems inconsistent with a reflexive pro-
noun in the third. In Cornelius Nepos (Themistocles, c. 8),
"Domino navis, qui sit aperit, multa pollicitus si se con-
"servâsset," we could not translate "se" by "himself," be-
cause our reflexive pronoun would relate to the subject of the
verb "conservâsset." The principle is in fact the same as in
the passage of Cicero.

The sentence of Livy (L. i. c. 54) is as follows: (Sextus
Tarquinius) "è suis unum sciscitatum Romam ad patrem
"mittit quidnam se facere vellet, quandoquidem ut omnia
"unus Gabiis posset, *ei* Dii dedissent." Zumpt assumes that
the common usage would require "sibi;" but I believe that
the proper mode of translating this passage is to refer "*ei*" to
the father—Sextus meant, according to Livy, to imply that
everything was at his *father's* disposal. I conceive that the
father, not Sextus, is the subject of the verb "posset." If this
be so, the pronouns would appear perfectly regular.

The following sentence of Cæsar is again remarkable:—
"Responderunt (scil. Sicambri) Populi R. imperium Rhenum
"finire: si se invito Germanos in Galliam transire non
"æquum existimaret, cur sui quidquam esse imperii aut

"potestatis trans Rhenum postularet" (L. iv. c. 16). The Sicambri, in whose mouth the sentence is placed, are supposed to be remonstrating with Cæsar himself, to whom "se" and "sui" relate, as the immediate nominative of "existimaret" and "postularet," as well as the narrator who quotes the speech. I am far from pretending to explain all the anomalies and difficulties which appear to exist in certain cases with regard to the Latin reflexive pronoun.

Professor Key (Latin Gr. p. 219) refers to the speech of Ariovistus (Cæsar, de B. G. i. 36), and very justly says that in it "there is much freedom in the use of these pronouns." The whole speech is in an oblique form: in the passage about the middle, "Magnam Cæsarem injuriam facere, qui *suo* adventu vectigalia *sibi* deteriora faceret," *suo* points to the immediate subject of the subordinate verb, *sibi* to the speaker. So again towards the end, "neminem *sibi* nisi *suâ* perniciæ contendisse," *se* and *suâ* refer to different persons. It may be said indeed that "*suâ* perniciæ" is a sort of adverbial formula, irrespective of person. The same kind of explanation might be applied to the "per-se" and "inter-se" quoted by Professor Key from Cicero, as well as to the phrases "*suo-nomine*" and "*suo-jure*;" but in truth the difficulty of arriving at any certain rule remains much as it was before.

In the passage of Cicero, De Orat. lib. i. c. 54, "Quod quum interrogatus Socrates esset, respondit, sese meruisse, ut amplissimis honoribus et præmiis decoraretur, et ut ei victus quotidianus in Prytaneo publice præberetur," "sese" and "ei" clearly refer to the same person—Socrates; nor do I find in Orelli (vol. i. p. 245) any various reading. Compare Zumpt as above; Diez, Romanische Gramm. b. iii. s. 54.

Another instance presents itself in the first Philippic, c. 10:—"Ut—hujus tamen diei vocem testem reipublicæ relinquam meæ perpetuæ erga *se* voluntatis." I see no reason for the use of *se* here.

(B.)

BOSWORTH (A. S. Dict. p. cxc.) calls the two ordinary A. S. tenses "the indefinite and the perfect." Dr. Prichard (ib. p. 171) gives the future form of the Welsh verb-substantive thus:—

Sing. bydhav, bydhi, bȳdh.

Plur. bydhwn, bydhwch, bydhant.

Zeuss (Gramm. Celt. vol. i. p. 482) says of the Irish future, "Sing. 1 & 2 pers. non obvia exempla;" the third person sing. he gives as bieid, bied, and sometimes bid. He states that "beth" was the Cornish and Armoric form for the future and subjunctive, as well as root of the verb (p. 539). From this writer's mode of speaking I should infer that in his opinion a future tense, properly so called, had originally belonged to the system of the Celtic verb generally, but I am not competent to discuss such a question (see p. 411).

The Attic use of *εἶμι*, *ibo*, with its future sense, may be held to have some connection with the future sense of one form of the verb-substantive, though it is not the same (see Grimm, *Gesch. der Deutschen Spr.* b. ii. s. 892). At any rate, the wide-spread tendency to assign this future meaning to the form which corresponds with our "be" is very remarkable, and must go back to remote times in the history of all these kindred languages. It appears to give great additional probability to the conjecture that the syllable "bo" in the Latin futures of the 1st and 2nd conjugations, as well as in those of some other verbs, was in its origin only an application of this very root of the verb-substantive as a suffix. *Fui*, *fuera*m, *fore*m, *fuere*, or *fore*, are of course all derived from this root, and it is curious that the infinitive "fore" still retains its future sense as equivalent to "futurum esse." I think this theory at any rate more probable than Professor Key's conjecture that in the Latin conjugation the suffixes *ēba* and *eb* may have some connection "with the verb *habe*, 'have, which is so common an auxiliary in all languages'" (see Latin Grammar, p. 64, note).

We know from such forms as "scibo" ("Nemo ex me scibit," Terent. *Phormio*. vol. i. 38) and "ibo," that the ter-

mination “bo,” for the future, probably extended much further than it appears to do in our ordinary Latin Grammars. Compare Zumpt, *Lat. Gramm.* § 215; Facciolati, in *vv. scio et eo*. Bopp (*Comparative Grammar*, Transl. p. 889, § 662) assumes it as certain that the 3rd and 4th conjugations in Latin did originally form their futures in “bo.” The ordinary futures in “am” are evidently allied to the subjunctive (compare *Philolog. Museum*, vol. ii. p. 218). It will be observed from what is said in the text that the subjunctive was used for the future occasionally by Ulfilas, and I believe that the same relation is to be traced in Sanscrit. See Bopp, *Compar. Gramm.* Transl. vol. ii. pp. 887, 891; Zeuss, *Gramm. Celt.* vol. i. p. 539; Grimm, *Deutsche Gramm.* b. iv. s. 177, n. 2; *Trans. of Philological Society*, 1845, No. 38; 1846, No. 44. Mr. Guest, in these *Transactions* (vol. ii. p. 223), tells us that the verb “be” was long retained for the expression of future time in English, more particularly in the North, and he quotes examples from Lyndsay and other writers in support of this view.

On the verb “be” in general, and its equivalents, the reader may consult Mr. Francis Newman’s paper in the *Classical Museum*, No. xxv. p. 254.

(C.)

THE Scotch and North country forms are “aw,” “awin,” “ain,” “awingis” (debts), and approach still nearer than our own to the Gothic, of which the first person indicative was “aih” (see Jameson’s *Scottish Dict.* in *vv.*). Grimm (*Gesch. der D. Spr.* b. ii. s. 905) considers “aih” is the præterite of “eigan,” “to labour” or “make”—“schaffen.” The word, therefore, which originally meant “I have made” or “acquired by my own labour,” assumed, like *κέκτημαι*, the present sense of “I possess,” or “have as my own.”

This verb, according to Grimm’s view, is thus what he calls a “verschobenes præteritum,” or, as Dr. Latham denominates it, “a transformed præterite,” of which I have had

to speak in the text under the verbs "skulan" and "muna." There are so many curious points connected with our verb "to owe," and its perfect "ought," and it affords so excellent an illustration of the process of transformation of these præterites, that the reader must excuse me if I lengthen this note for the purpose of discussing them.

In the first place, there is little doubt, I conceive, that the earliest meaning of "owe" was that of "agan," "to own," or "have as one's own." Shakspeare says—

"I am not worthy of the wealth I owe"

All's Well that Ends Well, ii. 5—

and the instances are innumerable.

In the second place, there is no doubt that "ought" is the regular "weak" præterite of "owe." Thus in Henry IV. Part I. iii. 3, "He said the other day you ought him a thousand pounds." So in Donne's letters (Southey's Common-place Book, i. 336), "They ought the world no more." Chaucer uses "ought" impersonally—

"Well ought us werke."

Second Nun's Tale, l. 15,482—

but I am inclined to think that this is an imitation of the construction of such Latin words as "oportet."

"Ought" itself has thus in some sense become in English one of the promoted or transformed perfects, and acquired the present sense of duty; but it has not acquired a second weak præterite of its own, nor has it formed a present infinitive and participle. The want of these last is often very inconvenient: we cannot say, "he was known *to ought*," for "he was known to be bound in duty," and the original present "owe" will not express what we want.

We have no difficulty in seeing how a word which signifies that a debt of any kind, whether moral or pecuniary, has been due, may be applied to the present obligation of discharging either: but I confess that I have always felt the greatest difficulty in explaining how a verb which meant originally "to have as one's own," "to own," came to signify "to be bound to pay." Mr. Edwin Guest (*Trans. of Philolog. Society*, 1845, p. 157) says, "The phrases 'he owes me ten

" 'pounds,' and 'he has ten pounds for me,' may have a closer etymological connection than our knowledge of the world would lead us to expect; and the use of the verb without the dative, 'he owes ten pounds,' may be founded on a merely derivative meaning." I wish Mr. Guest in this passage had explained a little more clearly what the process is which he supposes to have taken place. It seems a singular state of things when the fact that a man "*has* a thing," carries with it the notion that he "*has* it for some one else to whom he is bound to pay it!" Is it founded on the principle that all property is a trust; or on the Communist maxim, "*La propriété c'est le vol*"? or does Mr. Guest mean to imply that the modern sense of owing a debt was attached to these verbs before they acquired that of having or owning?—a supposition inconsistent with the meaning of the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon forms.

If indeed in the early times of our language "owe" and "ought" were used only as in the phrase "he ought to do it," we might suppose that such a sentence was literally equivalent to "he *had* to do it," and was founded on the original sense of "have:" but it so happens that in one of the earliest relics of the English tongue—the writ or proclamation of Henry III. in 1258—the King speaks of "the treowthe that heo us ogen"—that is, "the allegiance that they (our subjects) owe to us." In the version of the same document given by Henry in his *History of England* (but not in Palgrave's), the præterite "ogt" further appears in the sense of our modern "ought." (Compare Latham on the English Language, p. 65; Henry's *History of England*, vol. viii. App. 4; Palgrave's *Proofs and Illustrations*, p. cccxlviii.) Again in Chaucer we find—

"By God we owen fourty pounds for stones."

Sompnoure's Tale, l. 7688.

According to the original meaning of "*agan*" and "*owe*," this ought to mean, "we have forty pounds—they belong to us;" whereas it really means directly the reverse, "they belong to another." I repeat that I am unable to explain this difficulty.

(D.)

GRIMM further illustrates this singular etymology by a reference to parallel forms in the Lithuanian, Lettish, and Old Prussian. The Icelandic "skilja" corresponds with our verb "to skill," which has the sense of "to differ." "It skilleth not" is used by Hooker for "it differs not" (see Todd's Johnson in v.). If I understand Grimm rightly, he conceives that the notion of mental "skill" or understanding is based on the material one of cutting in pieces or dissection, as we talk of "analysing a subject."

Our English word "kill" has, I conceive, no connection with "skila," but represents the A. S. "cwellan" or "cwælan," "to quell." In a note Grimm adds that the proper meaning of the German "schelten" is "to charge another with a debt." Particular persons seem to have been employed to do this publicly to the debtor (compare Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, ss. 613, 953). Their duty would be to declare to the slayer, on the part of the kindred of the slain, that he was called on to pay the "wergeld." "Jemanden quit schelten" is quoted by Adelung (Wörterbuch, in. v.) as an obsolete and provincial idiom for declaring a man free from a debt; but Adelung himself inclines rather to consider "schelten" as a frequentative form of "schellen," "to make a noise or ringing sound," than as connected with "schuld." Grimm's researches, however, are probably of more weight than this conjecture. I ought in passing to observe that if Grimm is right in the origin which he assigns to "skulan," all apparent relation in form and in meaning between "sollen," ὀφείλλω, ὀφείλω, debeo, voll, &c., will turn out to be purely accidental, and not, as Fr. Thiersch supposes possible, founded on the notion of *fulfilling* a duty. (See his Homerische Gram. § 232; compare Philolog. Museum, vol. i. p. 419.) Indeed, independently of Grimm's argument based on the analogy of "dulgs" and other words, the presence in all the earlier forms of this verb of the k or c after the s is very much against the etymological relationship of "sollen," "voll," ὀφείλλω, the "sollo" of Festus, and their cognate words. The connection of "dulgs" with the modern German "dolch," a dagger, is questionable. (See Adelung, Wörterbuch, in v.)

(E.)

I OUGHT to notice some observations of Mr. Guest on the origin of a Scotch idiom, with which I am unable to agree. That gentleman points out (Trans. of Philolog. Society, vol. ii. pp. 151, 225) that the verb-substantive "is" was formerly in particular cases employed with all three persons, as for instance—

"I *is* as ill a miller as *is* ye"—

CHAUCER'S *Miller's Tale*, l. 4043.

"And therefore *is* I come and eke Allein."

Ibid., l. 4029.

He also observes that Chaucer puts these phrases into the mouth of a person speaking a northern dialect:—

"Of a town were they born that hight Strother,

"Fer in the north I cannot telle where."

Tyrwhitt's note on this is—"There is a Struther or Strauther "in the shire of Fife"—meaning, I presume, Anstruther.

Mr. Guest then goes on to say,—“This use of ‘is’ may “have originated in that confusion of forms which often distinguishes a mixed or broken dialect, or it may be a remnant of an earlier and simpler grammar than our literature “has handed down to us.” The first of these causes is probable enough, but with regard to the second I believe that an earlier grammar would be little likely to be more simple. So far as our knowledge extends, all analogy goes to show that languages drop forms and inflections instead of acquiring them.

In a subsequent paper the same writer (p. 225) gives some examples of what he considers the future sense of “is” with all persons, which I cannot think are really such—one instance is from Rob Roy:—

“Aweel, aweel,” said the Baillie, “we’s let that be a passover.”

So from ‘Tim Bobbin,’ and therefore Lancashire:—

“I’s think on it.”

Until I fell in with Mr. Guest’s conjecture, I always conceived the Scotch abbreviations “I’s,” “we’s,” to be nothing

more than corruptions of "I sall," "we sall," for "shall," the liquid at the end being slurred over, as is frequently the case. It is quite true that in the West of Scotland, especially it appears in Renfrew, "is" is commonly used with all three persons; but there it is employed for "am" and "art," as a present tense (see Jameson, Dict. in v. "is"). When Andrew Fairservice says, "I'se warrant," I take "warrant" to be the verb, and the sentence to mean, "I shall warrant." Mr. Guest would make "is" equivalent to "I shall be;" and "warrant" would be the substantive; but if so, what is to be said of the following speech of the same worthy, "*I'se be caution* the warst stickler that ever stickit a sermon out ower the Tweed yonder, wad lay a ghaist twice as fast as him, wi' his holy water and his idolatrous trinkets." If "I'se" represents "I shall," then this construction is explicable; but if it stands for "I shall be," then the second verb-substantive "be" would seem inadmissible.

(F.)

CICERO supplies a good example of this formation in his pathetic and indignant letter to Atticus (ix. 10), where he says of Pompey, "*Ita sullaturit animus ejus et proscripturit diu.*" Does not the difference in the quantity of the u make the connection between the desiderative verbs and the future participle very doubtful? The latter is probably allied to the noun of the agent in *or*, *ōris*, and the feminine in *ūra*; like *factor*, *ōris*, *factūra* (see Bopp, Conjugations-System der Sanscrit Sprache, s. 26). The supine, which is in fact a verbal substantive retaining its governing power, is closely connected with all these forms.

Now it is singular that all the desideratives should be formed in the fourth conjugation, and it has often occurred to me (as it has done no doubt to others) that they are really formed by combining the supine with "eo," "ire;" just as Tacitus uses the phrase "*ultum ivit*" (Ann. iv. 73), or "*raptum ire*" (Hist. ii. 6). In this way "esurire" would be "esum ire." Again, the analogy of the future passive infinitive formed with "iri" and the supine is favourable to

this theory. There is a remarkable passage in Aulus Gellius on this idiom (x. c. 14), which it appears to me cannot be explained unless by supposing that the supine and the infinitive "iri" were taken virtually as coalescing in one word, and, if they so coalesce, we have in fact and in form a desiderative verb. A. Gellius says, "'Audio illi injuriam factum
 "'iri' audio contumeliam dictum iri"—vulgo quoque ita
 "'dici, vulgo et istam esse verborum figuram jam in medio
 "'loquendi usu—idcircoq. exemplis supersedeo. Sed 'con-
 "'tumelia illi' vel 'injuriam factum itur' paulo est remotius :
 "'exemplum igitur ponemus : M. Cato pro se contra Cassium
 "'—'atque evenit ita, Quirites, uti in hac contumeliâ, quæ
 "'per hujusce petulantiam factum itur, rei quoque publicæ
 "'medius fidius miserear Quirites'—sicut autem '*contume-
 "'liam factum iri*' significat '*iri ad contumeliam facien-
 "'dam*' id est—*operam dari quò fiat* ; ita '*contumelia mihi
 "'factum itur*' casu tantum immutato idem dicit.'" But surely in "*contumeliam factum iri*," it is commonly assumed that "iri" being used as it is called "impersonally," the accusative "*contumeliam*" is governed by the supine "*factum*." How, then, can it become the nominative to "*factum—itur*," unless on the supposition that these two words are in fact one passive verb, of which the active would be "*factum—ire*"? The essence of a passive structure is that the object of the active verb becomes the subject of the passive, which would then be the case. In Pliny (xxxii. 47) we have of Crassus, "*nec fuit satis nisi totum Parthorum esurisset aurum*," where "*esurio*" is an active verb, and we might say "*esuritur aurum*," like the "*factum—itur (facturitur) contumelia*" of Cato. Compare note 68, above, and the reference to the *Lexilogus*, b. ii. s. 260.

In favour of this derivation from "ire" may perhaps be added the existence of such a future as "*esuribo*" (see *Faciol.* in v.). Against it, however, we have the change of "eo" into "io," though "*ambio*" affords a precedent for this as well as for a derivative from "eo," "ire," sometimes, though not always, using the participle present, the gerund, and the imperfect, according to the regular form of the fourth conjugation. Thus in Velleius Paterculus we find "*insula quam amnis Euphrates ambiebat*," though in Ovid (*Meta-*

morphos. v. 360) the imperfect is *ambibat*, “*ambibat Siculae cautus fundamina terræ.*” Perhaps, too, it may be said that if “*esurire*” were nothing more than “*esum—ire,*” we ought to find the quantity of the *i* in “*esuritor*” different from what it is in the line of Martial (iii. 14)—

“*Romam petebat esuritor Tuccius.*”

The verbal substantive *ambitus*, however, retains the short vowel of the supine, though the past participle itself seems to be long, *e. g.*—

“*Jussit et ambitæ circumdare littora terræ.*”

Ovid, *Metam.* i. 37.

“*Fallit et ambitos a principe vendit honores.*”

Claudius in Rufinum, 180.

If “*circitor*” be ever long, it is probably to be taken as a contraction of “*circuitor.*” Compare

“*Quid mecum tibi circitor moleste.*”

Priap. xvi.

See Facciol. in v.; Zumpt, *Lat. Gramm.*, ss. 228, 551, 218.

The elision of the *m* of the supine offers little difficulty, though the insertion of the *r* in its place may cause more hesitation. In “*prodesse*” and “*prodire*” the letter selected for insertion in this manner is *d*, which was at one time occasionally interchanged with *r*. See Buttman, *Lexilogus*, b. ii. s. 112, note on “*Laurus,*” and b. i. s. 126.

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